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ABSTRACT

This thesis clarifies the role of the applied linguist in the language and language teaching sciences with particular application to advanced language learning that takes place after five years of study. Students' deficiencies identified at matriculation together with the psychological and practical needs of the students and their society identify the needs that relevant, advanced courses must meet. Although the present pattern of advanced language teaching is found to be unsatisfactory, no comprehensive studies are available to provide the methodological insights needed to rectify the situation. In order to develop advanced language teaching methodology rationally, insights must be sought from the factors that determine its effectiveness: the nature of language, the learner and his or her learning strategies, and the needs of society. A survey of developmental psycholinguistics elucidates the strategies of advanced second language learners although some extrapolation from the native child language and second language learning is necessary. The outcome of language learning in a multicultural society is also determined by the social context. The psycholinguistic and societal issues lead to a methodology focusing on use, communication, and contextualization in which community involvement plays an integral and integrating role. (Author/AMH)

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AN APPLIED LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING

D.E. Ingram

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A thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Essex, Colchester, England,
April, 1978.

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PREFACE

LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODOLOGY
IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

There are basically two ways by which methodology develops, first, by *ad hoc* means and, second, by rational means.

The *ad hoc* approach is based especially on classroom teaching experience and the innovative use of techniques. The teacher, by accident, anecdote, or some other means comes upon a technique which either "works" and is continued or fails and is modified or discarded. This approach is deceptively attractive to the practising teacher since it focusses upon classroom activities. However, its very immediacy is also its danger since it is concerned with the last and, therefore, most superficial stage of method development. If the rationale behind the technique or the nature of what is being done is not understood, the modifications themselves are likely to be superficial, and methodological incompatibilities are likely to occur [cf. Van Passel 1974:99]. In addition, the technique is likely to become ossified, the teacher inflexible, and the teaching-learning process will escape the periodic, fundamental re-appraisal that is essential if its objectives and methods are to keep pace with changing circumstances. This is exemplified by the translation technique, handed on by successive generations of teachers. Perhaps, initially, the decision to adopt the technique resulted rationally from a theory of language and its learning. However, more recently, it seems generally to have been adopted more because it was the approach the teacher had learned by or because he could think of nothing else to do than from any understanding of the nature of language, of its learning, or of the rationale that originally led to its use. Thus, the teacher was left dependent on arbitrary techniques, unable to initiate modifications from his own resources, and, essentially, with no alternative but to continue in a familiar path or allow his teaching to become capricious.

This approach to method development is heavily in demand at language teacher meetings in both Britain and Australia but its real value is illusory since, although it appears to be concerned with the "nuts and bolts" of teaching, it is, in fact, haphazard, undirected, and superficial and leaves largely unconsidered the vital fundamental issues (the nature of language, language learning, student and societal needs, and ultimate and intermediate objectives). Its inadequacy is also observable when new methods are introduced or amongst student teachers whose preliminary training focusses on "classroom practicalities" with little attention to theoretical justifications. It is superficially attractive and "practical" for teachers to be told to do A, B, C, and D but the net effect is to leave them unable to go beyond D, unable to modify their approach to fit differing students and situations, and, in the long term, results in their reverting to previous, established methods. This occurred twice in Queensland in the 'sixties when new methods based, first, on the Australian Situational Method and, subsequently, on audiolingualism were introduced. The teachers were not taught the rationale behind the methods, had little theoretical understanding of the nature of language teaching, and were shown at most some classroom techniques. Thus, however rationally based the techniques introduced were, to the teachers, they were largely *ad hoc* and capricious and the teachers were left unable to rationally modify either existing practice or the new techniques in order to meet their individual circumstances. Inevitably the new methods were either badly used or rapidly abandoned and traditional grammar-translation methods re-adopted despite their inefficiency, their incompatibility with the new course books, and their failure to attain the new objectives.

At the advanced level of language teaching, similarly *ad hoc* approaches to methodology are apparent. Even where new techniques have been tried, there is little evidence of a thorough-going re-examination of the fundamental nature of advanced language learning and of its objectives in the light of the changing or newly understood needs of students and society. Most of the changes (such as the use of précis or paraphrase in lieu of prose translation) seem to result from experimentation with new techniques in order to achieve old goals.

The alternative approach to the development of methodology bases it in a rational understanding of the issues involved in language learning and teaching. In particular, methodology is developed from an understanding of the nature of language and of the language learning process, the nature and needs of the learner, and the nature of the environment (especially social environment) that impinges on him. Since methodology determined in this way is the product of fundamental principles inherent in the components of the teaching-learning situation (the learner, the language, and the environment), it can be held more responsive to change in those components.

It is important to note that the teaching situation *per se* is not included as one of the fundamental determinants of methodology except insofar as the teacher and the situation he creates form part of the learner's environment. Too often innovation seems to have been limited by the belief that the existing teaching situation and education system are invariable, determining factors. Yet, they should be designed to meet the needs arising from the fundamental determinants. If an ideal methodology can be identified, the teaching situation should facilitate rather than restrict it.

Wilkins offers a justifiable warning if the views expressed here were taken to mean that a rigid set of pre-determined principles are to be used to judge methodology:

> *Unfortunately, it is not at all easy to judge what does and does not work, but at least we should be on our guard against importing a ready-made set of principles against which any piece of language teaching can be judged whatever the teaching situation.* [Wilkins 1974:ix]

However, the principles on which method development will be based in this thesis are not *ad hoc* but derive from an understanding of the principal components in the language learning process. Inevitably, as this understanding changes over the years, so the nature of the governing principles must change, and methodology with them. The very complexity of language proficiency [see Chapter One, pp. 6 - 31] makes it difficult to decide categorically how best to promote successful language learning. Nevertheless, it should be possible to look at the nature of language, language learning, the learner, and the impinging environment and so gain insights to guide the development of a methodology to test out in practice. The test phase can, itself, lead to changes in our understanding of the four fundamental determinants and thence to further methodological modifications. This process occurs, for instance, when apparently successful language teaching practice and the developed principles seem in conflict. It was illustrated by the reservations many language teachers felt about barring grammatical rules from their teaching during the heyday of audiolingualism, reservations now commended as "insightful teaching" in the light of generative linguistics and developmental psycholinguistics [cf. Ingram 1973a:55].

Wilkins's warnings would be particularly applicable if rigid principles were to be espoused in order to provide an objective (in contrast to rational) basis on which to develop methodology. Objectivity is desirable in order to avoid capriciousness or expediency, a danger already observed in the *ad hoc* approach to method development. However, in advanced language learning, where one is dealing with a highly complex matter whose determining factors are not yet fully understood, a desirable distinction exists between objectivity and rationality. The former suggests the application of logical, objectively determined and irrefutable principles whereas the latter seeks insights from known knowledge which, acting as principles of second language learning, are applied to develop methodology. Objectivity in this approach exists at the stage of gathering knowledge about the four fundamental determinants in the language teaching-learning process and in the application of the principles; insight exists in perceiving the relevance of the acquired knowledge to, in this case, advanced language learning in order to establish the principles on which methodology is developed. Such insight is a "leap of faith" but one which is made from a solid base and which is verifiable in the final, testing stage of the process. Such approaches, Chomsky considers, have permitted today's advance of the natural sciences which have "by and large, sought objectivity primarily insofar as it is a tool for gaining insight" [Chomsky 1965:20].

This discussion clarifies the role of the applied linguist[1] in the language and language teaching sciences. The magnitude and complexity of language and language learning as research subjects preclude his doing extensive basic research in all the fundamental sciences (e.g., linguistics, psycholinguistics, psychology, sociolinguistics, education, and sociology). Furthermore, where the applied researcher is involved in such work, there is a danger that its inevitable complexity will too readily transfer to the applications. Rather, he needs to stand off and see each study more dispassionately within the total perspective given by other relevant sciences which the fundamental researcher has neither the time nor, frequently, the interest to consider. The task of the applied linguist is, therefore, to take the findings of the fundamental sciences, assess their relevance and the direction of that relevance, and interpret them for the teacher; that is, he seeks insights and constructs principles which he then applies to language teaching and tests out in practice. His basic concerns are interpretation,

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(1) In this thesis, the term *applied linguistics* refers specifically to the discipline which applies the findings of the language sciences to second or foreign language teaching. Elsewhere, its scope should be considered to be more extensive and to embrace a wide range of language-related concerns.

application and assessment. The relationships between the various areas of language study are illustrated in Figure 1.

It is this approach that has been followed in this thesis. Relevant studies in the fundamental sciences, especially developmental psycholinguistics, have been drawn on, their findings interpreted for insights into advanced language learning, and a methodology of advanced language teaching developed.

Finally, the author wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the help given by Dr. John Ross and Professor A. Spicer of the University of Essex. Particular thanks are due to Dr. Eric Bowker of the University of Queensland for his advice and his meticulous assistance.

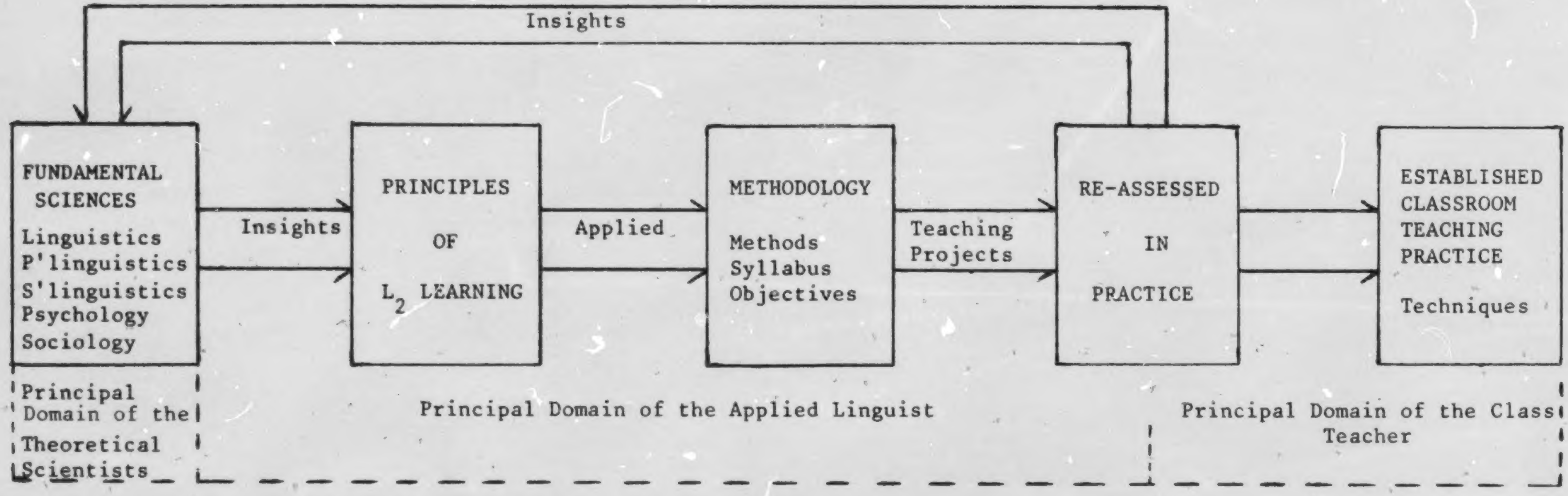
Insights
FUNDAMENTAL SCIENCES
Linguistics
P'linguistics
S'linguistics
Psychology
Sociology
Insights
PRINCIPLES OF L2 LEARNING
Applied
METHODOLOGY
Methods
Syllabus
Objectives
Teaching Projects
RE-ASSESSED IN PRACTICE
ESTABLISHED CLASSROOM TEACHING PRACTICE
Techniques
Principal Domain of the Theoretical Scientists
Principal Domain of the Applied Linguist
Principal Domain of the Class Teacher

Figure 1: A Model for the Development of Language Teaching Practice

AN APPLIED LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING

ABSTRACT

For purposes of discussion, advanced language learning is defined as that which takes place after a proficiency level of approximately S-1+ to S-2, R-2 has been reached on the FSI Scales [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. Students in the formal school system enter this stage after five years or 480 to 500 hours of in-class tuition. Language proficiency is defined in terms of practical language skills, particularly the contexts and functions in which the language is used for communication. A survey of the performance of students at matriculation reveals the nature of the skills and deficiencies that they bring to advanced courses. They have experienced the major rules for L_2 sentence structure but lack confidence and fluency in their use. They have a rudimentary vocabulary which frequently fails them especially in "real life" situations outside the classroom. Most operate in the language via translation from the L_1, use units little greater than single words, and lack flexibility in mobilizing language to meet requirements of registers and functions. These deficiencies, together with the psychological and practical needs of the students and their society, identify the needs that relevant, advanced courses must meet. In addition to developing language skills to the point where the L_2 becomes a viable tool for whatever purposes the student wishes to achieve, advanced courses must aim at developing cross-cultural attitudes favourable to life in a multicultural society. However, the present pattern of advanced language teaching is unsatisfactory: proficiency levels attained are inadequate, methods are, at best, inefficient, and the objectives sought have little relevance to attitudinal needs or to the nature of language proficiency. No comprehensive studies are available to provide the methodological insights needed to rectify the situation.

To develop advanced language teaching methodology rationally, insights must be sought from the factors that determine its effectiveness, the nature of language, of the learner (including how he learns), and of society. A survey of developmental psycholinguistics elucidates the strategies of advanced L_2 learners, though some extrapolation from child L_1 and L_2 learning is necessary. Language is learned through use, i.e., the learner must be actively involved in trying to communicate in real situations. Rich experience of the language is essential. The central process is rule acquisition, which occurs through formal and informal means. The learning schedule is probably universal, and the strategies common to all levels and both L_1 and L_2 learning. Nevertheless, some individuality in learning styles is evident.

The outcome of language learning is also determined by the social context. In a multicultural society, favourable cross-cultural attitudes are best developed through interaction with the native speaking ethnic community, culture learning, and conscientization.

The psycholinguistic and societal issues lead to a methodology of advanced language teaching focussing on use, communication and contextualization, in which community involvement plays an integral and integrating role. Feedback from needs experienced in using the language leads to individualized formal language study. Activities in both formal and less formal activities stress communicative competence and develop the macroskills, functions and registers appropriate to the situations in which individual learners wish to use the language.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING

THE NATURE OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING

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INTRODUCTION

The literature of applied linguistics is deficient in studies that give tertiary language teachers systematic insight into the nature of their task and enable them to rationally improve their teaching. Many thorough studies of the early stages of language learning can be found and language teaching at elementary and intermediate levels has been continually investigated in the context of changing theories of language and learning [cf. Marckwardt 1965:3-4; see Hesse 1975]. However, no comparable studies of advanced stages have appeared. Healey's [1967] study of foreign language teaching in British universities does not so much examine the fundamental nature of advanced language learning as offer a review and critique of the state of foreign language (FL) teaching in British universities in the middle 'sixties. In any case, Healey was considerably influenced by contemporary audiolingual theories and no comparable work with a more recent theoretical perspective is available. Similarly, Van Passel's [1974] book on adult learners remains heavily audiolingual and gives little attention to the fundamental determinants of advanced language learning. Frequent commentaries on new techniques used in tertiary classes can be found but they generally involve relatively superficial modifications to classroom practice without providing the thorough-going reappraisal that is needed. Thus, the long-established objectives and methods of tertiary language teaching remain largely unchallenged by changing perspectives on the nature of language and the nature and needs of the learner and his society.

Reasons for this conservatism are readily found. First, the earlier stages of language learning seem more accessible to research since the Subjects are generally younger, less critical of being used experimentally, experience fewer pressures of time and study, and provide more dramatic results as they progress from zero knowledge to some, if limited, degree of fluency. In addition, errors at elementary levels are less prone to be explained away by previous bad teaching, laziness, forgetfulness, unwillingness to read enough, or the misguided use of translations of set books.

Secondly, tertiary teachers frequently lack educational training and see their main task as research rather than teaching. Their lack of teacher education leaves them less aware of alternative methods and so less critical of established pedagogical traditions [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:29]. The fact that they succeeded sufficiently well in the existing system to become staff of language departments makes them less likely to see faults in the system and therefore more likely to perpetuate the grammar-translation-literature approach that they themselves experienced. Furthermore, since the traditional system focussed on literature rather than language development, such persons are less likely, through their own experience, to have intuited the problems in language learning *per se* while their interests are more likely to be literary than linguistic, literary criticism than language teaching. In fact, the overriding reason for the conservatism that has been noted is undoubtedly the entrenched literary values of language departments. Thus language learning has been reduced to providing access to "great works" and, in practice, little effective interest has been shown in whether that access is direct (through the FL) or indirect (via translation into the L_1).

Thirdly, the very difficulty of defining the nature of language proficiency has restrained the development of more effective advanced language teaching methods. Without such a definition, it has been easy to overlook the real nature of the language that students bring to tertiary institutions and, when things seem not to be going well, to shrug them off with statements such as, "Well, they ought to be able to manage. They've got their Senior". Strategies to improve tertiary language teaching can be rationally proposed only if the nature of language proficiency can first be specified and if the extent of development of the FL skills of the students entering the advanced stage can be identified. Such issues, together with an understanding of how language is learned at an advanced level, are essential prerequisites to the development of advanced language teaching.

SCOPE OF THE WORK

This thesis will examine the central issue in all language teaching, viz., the development of language skills, but will relate the discussion to the advanced stage, that of matriculants in a FL studying the language at a tertiary institution. Whatever the ultimate reason for the student's acquiring the language, and whatever the teacher's interest in teaching it, what is achieved is predicated on the development of the language itself. Even if the professed interest is, for example, the study of French literature, if the student's language is not sufficiently developed for him to read and appreciate works directly through French, then the course is, in reality, anything else (e.g., comparative anthropology, social science, or psychology) but it is not literary appreciation. More specifically, this thesis is limited to a consideration of language development at the advanced level; that is, it is concerned with how communication skills in the FL can most rapidly be developed in learners who have already studied it for several years at school. One related issue, the development of cross-cultural attitudes, will receive attention but the thesis will not consider the relative merits of the study of language, linguistics, literature or the other activities characteristic of university language departments in Britain and Australia except insofar as they impinge on the development of attitudes and proficiency.

ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Before strategies to enhance advanced language teaching can be proposed, it is essential to elucidate the nature of language proficiency and of advanced language learning. The two issues are interrelated since, if language proficiency could be satisfactorily defined, one could relate any stage of FL learning to that definition so as to specify the nature of the learner's language and what he still has to develop. However, no single, ready means of characterizing language proficiency presents itself and little is known about how a learner moves from one stage of proficiency to the next [cf. Russell 1970a:21]. Nevertheless, several possible approaches suggest themselves as one focusses on different aspects of language use.

A BASIS FOR COMPARISON

In order to say something about a learner's language proficiency, some basis for comparison is needed, some objective standard against which proficiency may be measured, and which indicates unambiguously something of value about his language. However, no absolute basis of comparison seems available though two possibilities are worth considering.

COMPARISON WITH NATIVE SPEAKERS. Most learners of a FL probably want to approximate to a native speaker's knowledge of the language and to his performance in it. Strevens [1968:213] suggests a "native-like ability" as the goal of the honours graduate and, for its Final Diploma, the Institute of Linguists stipulates "a near-native command of educated spoken and written language" [Institute of Linguists 1974a:2]. In this approach, comparison of the learner with a native speaker enables us to say something about his proficiency. The native speaker, it could be claimed, is able to use the language fluently, without hesitation, without errors, and without concentrating on the form of what he is saying, and he can vary it according to the context and his purpose. Thus, advanced language learning could be defined as the stage where the learner moves from hesitancy, errors, and limited comprehension and production to native-like fluency, accuracy, and flexibility.

However, native speakers vary widely in their fluency, the number of hesitations, and the formal accuracy of their language. The "idealized native speaker-hearer" may be a useful linguistic concept but he does not exist and provides no solid basis of comparison for the foreign learner. Native speakers vary widely from semi-articulate labourers to glib politicians, and from educated engineers to nervous teenagers. Native speakers with different levels of education and with different personalities differ widely in their speech styles. As Carroll has pointed out [1971:98], language is central to many kinds of intellectual activities and any random selection of native speakers will differ widely in linguistic competence and performance, in vocabulary size, in ability to construct coherent sentences, in reading and writing, in public-speaking, and so on. Clearly it would be difficult to decide which native speaker should be the basis for comparison and it would be difficult to decide at which stage the FL learner should resemble which native speaker.

Furthermore, to say that a native speaker "knows his language" is not to say anything of very much interest since even a native speaker knows only certain parts of a language (e.g., few English-speaking linguists could perform in the language of English physicists and every linguist has undoubtedly had the experience of listening with little understanding to a lecture in an area of linguistics other than his own). Clearly, any meaningful notion of proficiency implies proficiency in certain defined areas, which, for the student, must be those areas of interest and relevance to him.

COMPARISON WITH L_1 OR L_2 DEVELOPMENTAL SCHEDULE. One basis of comparison for defining level of FL proficiency is the developmental schedule. In Chapter Four, evidence for the universality of L_1 and L_2 developmental schedules will be considered. If they are universal, then FL development could be measured against the universal L_2 schedule or, if the L_1 and L_2 schedules are the same, against the L_1 schedule. In the latter case, one could then define the level of development in terms like "language age" comparable to "mental age" used to measure intellectual development. This would then precisely identify the level of development and clearly indicate what subsequent courses should incorporate. However, such a measurement would focus on competence and entail other problems shortly to be seen. In addition, psycholinguists are still far from fully specifying either L_1 or L_2 schedules even for English (the most studied language) and the question of their similarity is not yet resolved especially insofar as the effect of age on them is concerned [see Chapter Four, pp.295-311,412-419]. Thus, comparison with a universal L_1 or L_2 developmental schedule remains an impractical basis for specifying the level of FL development or defining advanced learning.

LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

There is some attraction in seeking to define proficiency in terms of linguistic competence.

Language operates on the basis of a finite set of rules and a large but finite lexis [cf. Chomsky 1965:8] and, if these could be specified, there would be a clear and explicit content to be taught, one could define a percentage of this content to be acquired at each proficiency level, and the level could be identified through "discrete point" tests. However, using a language is more than merely applying rules and filling slots with lexis; learning a language involves more than memorizing rules and lexis. That essential fallacy is made in grammar-translation courses, which, as will be seen in Chapter Two, are unsuccessful in developing practical language skills. Halsall [1968] has made a similar error and has confused a pedagogical objective or academic achievement with language proficiency. She uses vocabulary counts and generalized statements concerning structures, thus tacitly defining proficiency in terms of the number of words and structures from *le français fondamental:*

> *An examination of the notion of basic linguistic skills reveals a greater consensus of opinion... Common practice...defines a reading knowledge of a language as a recognition of the first 2,000 words of frequency counts of written material and in morphology and syntax a recognition knowledge of the common forms and grammatical patterns... a basic vocabulary of 3,000 words will enable the learner to read 95% of a great number of normal, non-technical texts... however,.. the use of dictionaries and some hard work will still be necessary.* [Halsall 1968:14]

Clearly, such a view equates language (or, here, reading) proficiency with cryptography and overlooks a great deal of what is required to be a proficient language user. Language ability involves, for instance, not only knowledge of syntactic rules but also habitualized facility in relating them to meaning and applying them fluently in sentence production [cf. Carroll 1971:102]. It includes the ability of the learner to select amongst his language store appropriately according to the context in which he is using the language and the functions he wishes to carry out.

A competence-based approach which defines language proficiency in terms of a specified set of words and structures makes an unrealistic demand on the language user and ignores an important characteristic of proficient language use, viz., the flexibility to avoid problems, to "work around" unknown or forgotten words and structures, and to express oneself in another way or, in comprehension, to extrapolate the meaning from the context. It also ignores the need for the learner to bring to any language task sociocultural knowledge from his model of the world [cf. Ingram and Elias 1974; Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapters 2 and 3].

Stern [1974] discussing what it means to know a language comes closer to defining proficiency when, like Hymes, he extends the notion of competence to include "the social rules of appropriateness of language use" [ibid.:39]. He identifies [ibid.:15-18] four aspects of competence: form (the native speaker's global and intuitive knowledge of his language which, whether or not he can verbalize it, enables him to know right from wrong and to manipulate his language automatically as an ordered system); meaning (which is always his focus of attention, which he automatically relates to form without having to reason from it, and which includes linguistic, cognitive, affective, and sociocultural aspects); communication (which, with the meaning that the communication act carries, is the crucial part and purpose of language use and entails the ability to select amongst the language repertoire in order to achieve the desired communication task, e.g., greeting, persuading, betting); and creativity (the ability to use language freely and flexibly, even to invent new forms within the bounds of the fundamental linguistic system, to meet changing needs and situations). Clearly, such a notion of proficiency has come a long way from lists of words and rules and leads us towards the characterization of proficiency as what the native speaker can do with his language.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

The preceding discussion has moved the concept of proficiency from what the learner knows to what he can do, the skills he has, and the contexts in which he can use them. Other factors (including personality) also influence language performance. However, it is very difficult to specify all the variables involved even though, as Brière has observed [1971:387], these unmeasured and perhaps immeasurable factors probably constitute the bulk of communicative competence. It is certain, however, that any approach to defining proficiency or to teaching or assessing it which focusses on "discrete points" of syntax, phonology, lexis or any other component of the language will be inadequate. One can "know" myriad facts or "discrete points" in the language and yet remain unable to communicate while someone with less factual knowledge may well communicate more effectively even if less accurately. The present writer recalls his own chagrin in 1968 at diplomatic parties in French-speaking Phnom Penh to find his ability to communicate in French was negligible while one of his elementary adult pupils had obvious, marked success. If language is for communication and if proficiency in the use of language is a measure of the success of the communication act, an objective observer would have had to say that the pupil was more proficient than the writer despite the latter's knowledge of the intricacies of the subjunctive mood and the rarest of irregular verbs. Once again, then, we are led to equate proficiency with success in using language and, by implication, a definition of advanced language learning must include notions of what the language can be used for.

CONTEXT OR REGISTER. However, success in using language depends on the context or register in which it is used. No native speaker, we have observed [pp. 7 - 8], can perform equally well in all registers of his language and, hence, the notion of proficiency cannot be isolated from that of register. Diller [1971:105] claims that native-like ability does not exist unless the learner has facility in a wide range of contexts. James and Rouve observe:

> *Clearly language skills are not acquired or practised in a vacuum; moreover, any meaningful stretch of language must be about something. There is thus a direct relationship between the skills a language user commands...and the language contexts in which he acquired them... The more the contexts, the wider the command.* [James and Rouve 1973:4]

It may be possible to distinguish a general register, an amorphous body of language permeating all specialist registers and, therefore, most appropriate to school courses. Yet it is hard to define such language except negatively: not the language of nuclear physics or brain surgery, for instance. James and Rouve call this the "non-specialist register" and define it as

> *the language used by young pupils, whose experience of life hardly extends beyond home and school, and whose exposure to the target language has been severely restricted to the stretches of language...grouped around a small number of topics.* [James and Rouve 1973:4-5]

However, this definition itself almost denies the existence of a general register by focussing it "around a small number of topics" and equating it with those contexts and registers closely associated with home and school. The problems inherent in defining the non-specialist register are further illustrated if it is taken to imply the language needed to get around in everyday life. The requirements for such purposes would differ for the person living at home and going to school or work and the person visiting the country, living in a hotel and sightseeing. In fact, James and Rouve [loc. cit.] come dangerously close to defining the non-specialist register as the one characteristic of language courses, which bears all the unsatisfactory overtones of "schoolroom French" and risks confusing language proficiency with achievement in the course offered, i.e., with academic achievement.

Clearly, the notion of proficiency cannot be isolated from that of context or register and so the experimental O-level syllabuses of the Schools Council Modern Languages Project provide lists of contexts where proficiency is expected [cf. Buckby 1972]. The Committee on Research and Development in Modern Languages [1968:37-38] uses similar criteria for grading proficiency in its recommendations on courses for industry and commerce. At more advanced levels, it is still more important to specify proficiency in terms of the contexts or registers in which the language can be used since communication situations are potentially infinite in number [cf. Lado 1961:26-27] and one cannot expect a foreign learner to be able to operate in them all. Rather, he should develop proficiency in those contexts or registers most pertinent to his particular language needs and interests and, as James has said [1970:168], the learner (and our notions of proficiency) must centre on objectives somewhat less broad (and more specific) than "the language".

COGNITIVE SKILLS. Russell [1970a] has a different approach to defining proficiency, one that bears on the notion of register but involves also cognitive skills. His approach resembles Holland's [1970] in his analysis of the language of First Year University French students. Russell defines proficiency in terms of the abstractness of the semantic or referential content of the language and distinguishes three stages. In the first, the learner has proficiency in "the essentially practical aspect of language" and can participate in conversations on everyday life with language that "has only one simple meaning" [Russell 1970a:21]. In the second stage, the learner, instead of being restricted to the concrete and specific, can cope with the general and abstract. Russell illustrates this change as the difference between

① Mr. Brown lives in a large city

and

② Three-quarters of the population live in urban areas,

the latter reflecting the ability to use the language for generalized comment. The final stage entails emotive language, the ability to express the effect of the physical environment on oneself, and the ability to convey meaning beyond what is explicitly stated. According to Russell, the learner moves from Stage 2 to Stage 3 in A-level though Holland's [1970] analysis of the language of First Year University students suggests that few do, in fact, reach this level.

However, such an analysis of proficiency is questionable. First, it is not clear that the development of emotive language is necessarily characteristic of advanced language learning. Nelson [1973], in her study of infant language acquisition, uses this very quality to differentiate two types of learner, one of which uses emotive language from the very first words. Second, Russell's use of the term "conversations on everyday life" [1970a:21] is almost meaningless for reasons already seen [pp. 14-16].

Furthermore, the ability to make use of language for generalized comment and to formulate abstract ideas is as much a cognitive as a linguistic task. Piaget, Ausubel and Bruner, for example, discuss them as manifestations of stages in cognitive development [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2]. Russell's classification of L_2 proficiency fails to clarify the relationship between cognitive development and L_1 and L_2 skills or the extent to which cognitive tasks have to be relearned in an L_2. Such cognitive tasks as generalization and abstraction are manifested by language use but depend on discrete cognitive abilities that can be considered independent of language even though the learning and use of language may facilitate the cognitive processes. For Russell's classification of proficiency to be correct, such cognitive tasks must be language-specific and their emergence in the L_2 developmental schedule must be invariant. However, it could be that different languages lead the learner to achieve these tasks in different ways or that different cognitive tasks are favoured by speakers of different languages subsuming different models of the world [cf. the comparative studies by Kelly and others of speakers of Melpa, migrant languages in Australia, and English, e.g., Kelly 1973]. The differences in models of the world and in the ways in which different cognitive tasks are carried out are likely to be considerably less between English and French, to which Russell and Holland were referring, than between linguistically and culturally more disparate languages such as English and Melpa. In addition, it would seem to be not the cognitive tasks *per se* that have to be learned in subsequent (especially related) languages but how they are carried in the language. Tasks such as generalizing and abstracting can be considered universal processes operating at "deep structure" levels and dependent on maturation while, in mastering a new language, the "surface structure" forms and functions that carry the universal processes have to be learned. Once the necessary cognitive development has occurred, it is not obvious that these linguistic features must be learned in the order Russell suggests but their acquisition is rather a function of the particular course followed. Thus, for example, "traditional" courses based on the study and criticism of literary texts would seem likely to develop the features of Russell's Stages 2 and 3 before those of Stage 1, and, in fact, students such as the present writer who acquired their L_2 in such courses characteristically find it easier to discuss literary matters than the sort of concrete, everyday topics that Russell classes in Stage 1.

In other words, Russell seems to have confused cognitive functions with language functions and registers and his proficiency stages reduce to differences in the language appropriate to certain registers and functions. His examples above (Sentences ① and ②) exemplify this since whether Sentence ② is an abstraction or generalization depends on the situation in which it occurs. For a student reading off a graph or demographic map, it is as concrete as ① but, as the starting point for a cartographer, it is an abstraction and, especially if Roe's [1975] approach to the teaching of special purpose registers is valid, it is unlikely that Sentence ② would be more advanced than Sentence ① for a foreign student of English demography or cartography who is learning the relevant register.

Clearly, the concept of language proficiency is inseparable from the situations and tasks in which the language can be used and, hence, from notions of register and functions. These would seem to be the product of the course followed rather than themselves marking sequential developmental stages.

LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS. In the preceding discussion, it emerged that language proficiency cannot be specified without some notion of the tasks that can be carried out. Halliday [1969, 1975, 1977] has described language development in such terms, identifying the "language functions" that child learners carry out through their L_1. The literature on L_2 learning [e.g., James and Rouve 1973, Cowie and Heaton 1977, Ingram 1976] tends to use the term less rigorously to apply to simple, non-complex tasks (such as asking a question, greeting, or negating), more complex tasks (such as giving directions, letter-writing, note-taking, or entering, continuing and closing a conversation), or highly complex tasks (such as typing, stenography, translation, or interpreting). However, it is difficult to separate out such tasks and here they will all be termed language functions and be considered to exist along a continuum differing in complexity rather than nature.

The crucial place of language functions in language proficiency [cf. Wight 1969] and, therefore, in teaching methods which focus on the use of the language will be discussed in later chapters. Here, it is sufficient to observe that knowledge of grammar and lexis and of their contextual variations is valueless unless it can be used to achieve desired communication tasks, i.e., unless it can be mobilized in appropriate language functions. It is often difficult to isolate the simpler strategies for teaching purposes, to locate them on a proficiency scale, to separate them from the situations in which they occur, or to identify them exclusively with separate contexts (e.g., many of the functions used as a customer in a post office are obviously similar to those in a bank or shop even though other register characteristics may differ). Many definitions of proficiency levels, in fact, refer to "macroskills" [James and Rouve 1973] and contexts and not to functions except at more advanced levels where "marketable" functions (such as interpreting) may be indicated. This is broadly the approach of the Institute of Linguists [1974a] though the contexts are only vaguely defined except at the most advanced level and complex functions such as translation and interpreting are emphasized. The Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies [1968; reprinted in Appendix 1] is more precise and, at each stage, specifies functions as well as context and degree of formal accuracy.

RATE OF PERFORMANCE. Language performance operates through time and, consequently, rate of performance is a factor in proficiency. If a listener is to comprehend a native speaker, he must not only recognize phonemes, words, and rules and ascribe meaning to them, but he must do so sufficiently rapidly to keep pace with the speaker. Phoneme-by-phoneme or word-by-word decoding is inadequate for this and the learner must be able, at speed, to "chunk" the language into meaningful units and utilize the redundancy provided by the language, context, and his model of the world in order to reduce the decoding load and to postulate alternatives of meaning [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 3]. Similarly, the proficiency level a learner can claim is influenced by the fluency with which he can produce an utterance and this requires that he be able to apply rules without having to think about them or puzzle too long in order to mobilize the required lexical items from his memory store. Rate of production is less important, however, than rate of comprehension since the learner cannot control how rapidly others will speak to him. The Institute of Linguists [1974a:7-11] specifies the rate of utterance in aural comprehension tests for lower proficiency levels in terms of number of words per minute. However, rate of utterance cannot be treated too rigidly since, although it is relevant to language proficiency, it varies considerably according to register, situation, content, and the speaker's personality. In addition, a rate of 120 words per minute for a text on some abstruse topic with convoluted syntax or much nominalization [cf. Sandulescu 1975] is more demanding than a similar rate of utterance on a more mundane topic in syntactically simpler prose [see also Chapter Six, pp. 606 - 608, on language complexity].

Penfield's [1964] neurological studies have further elucidated this aspect of proficiency. Generative grammar has shown that language operates on a basis of rules and Carroll [1971a] has observed that the language user must be able to apply them habitually without conscious recall and manipulation. In his experiments using electrical stimulation, Penfield showed that, when one part of the brain was stimulated, it triggered an associated stream of memory. Similarly, the language teaching process is such that when the learner hears or recalls a word or rule, it is likely to stimulate that part of the learner's consciousness most vividly associated with it, especially what the teacher has said about that element of the language. By the time the learner has extracted from this stream of memory the relevant pieces of meaning, the speaker has moved on. This experience is commonly attested by learners (including the present writer) and is exemplified when, on hearing a subjunctive, the "good student" responds mentally with the reason for its use rather than with the appropriate, contextualized meaning. This intuitive response is as harmful to comprehension as any inherent "difficulty" of the structure itself. Proficiency will increase only when the learner can separate himself from what he has been told while being taught the meaning and function of an element and respond spontaneously with the appropriate meaning. This can occur only when enough time and experiences have elapsed that he has "forgotten" what he has learned *about* that element and the semantic referent alone is "foregrounded" [cf. Chafe 1972:50]. In other words, with more advanced learners, what is known *about* the language becomes subordinated to practical knowledge *of* the language.

ACCURACY. The notion of accuracy or "correctness" is a controversial issue in FL teaching if not in psycholinguistics [see Chapter Four, pp. 421 -423] and will be frequently discussed in this thesis. It is relevant to language proficiency but in no simple way. Though language is a conventionalized system, its redundancy ensures that its users can still communicate even if not all the conventions are observed. Hence, as the language of many long-term migrants confirms, "inaccuracies" need not necessarily affect communication. Nevertheless, there is a level of accuracy below which communication will suffer and, in addition, most FL learners (if not all L_2 learners [cf. Richards 1972]) seek the standard form of the language and any differences between that form and his own can be considered signs of incomplete learning that impute proficiency [cf. ibid.:182 but see also Chapter Four, pp. 421 -423]. Thus, though accuracy is somewhat less important than is suggested by traditional FL examinations, it nevertheless is one factor to be considered in defining levels of proficiency.

WHAT THE LEARNER BRINGS. Earlier [pp. 21 - 24], it was noted that language proficiency entails not only knowledge but also ability to mobilize and apply that knowledge to meet the demands of a particular situation [cf. Carroll 1971:125]. Thus, a learner may know most of the vocabulary items and grammar rules but still fail to understand because of an inability to bring them to bear on the task of comprehension or to mobilize appropriate knowledge from his model of the world. Ability to utilize the resources he brings to the communication task can be measured in those tests (such as the cloze test and the "white noise" test [e.g., Spolsky et al. 1968; Whiteson and Seliger 1975]) that reduce the redundancy level of a text.

One essential aspect of what the learner brings to communication tasks is his model of the world. To the extent, for example, that the listener or reader shares the model of the world of the speaker or writer, he will be able to postulate appropriate alternatives of meaning, an essential task in comprehension [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 3]. Blom et al. [1970] have shown the difficulties imposed on "culturally different" children whose models of the world are different from that subsumed by many traditional and multi-ethnic readers while Walsh

[1972] has shown the motivational and comprehension problems resulting from the incestuous meaning that Navaho children's models of the world lead them to impose on Dick and Jane readers. Levin and Kaplan have described this process of applying knowledge to the comprehension task:

> *In summary, we have suggested that the reader, or listener, continually assigns tentative interpretations to a text or message and checks these interpretations. As the material is grammatically or semantically constrained he is able to formulate correct hypotheses about what will come next. When the prediction is confirmed, the material covered by that prediction can be more easily processed and understood.* [Levin and Kaplan 1970:132]

Carroll relates this to the learner's model of the world:

> *...comprehension of a message is adequate or satisfactory to the extent that the language receiver apprehends, at least provisionally, whatever linguistic information is present in the message and is able to relate that information to whatever context is available at a given time. This imples that comprehension may be regarded as a process that contains at least two stages: (a) apprehension of linguistic information, and (b) relating that information to wider context.* [Carroll 1972:13]

Conversely, the speaker or writer must encode the L_2 on the basis of its linguistic system and model of the world if he is to communicate successfully with native speakers who will be operating from expectancies (linguistic and sociocultural) appropriate to that language. In brief, proficiency in a language entails development of a matching model of the world and an ability to bring this knowledge as well as linguistic and communicative competences to bear on communication tasks.

The physical situation in which the communication act takes place adds a further level of redundancy and communicative competence entails the ability to utilize environmental supports in conveying or decoding meaning. At one extreme, the child who points to the doll on the floor, says "Dolly", and conveys to her mother that she wants it returned is communicating by making maximum use of the environment and minimal use of the language in a heavily context-dependent utterance. At the other extreme is the comprehension of Sentences ① and ② [p.16] which, apart from the accompanying linguistic discussion, are relatively context-free. Between these extremes, the physical situation combines with the language in varying degrees of redundancy to form a total communication situation. To the extent that it is redundant, it will support the learner in his production and comprehension and may, therefore, seem to enhance his language proficiency [see Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 5 for a discussion on the differing relationships between language and the situation and their mutual support].

This discussion suggests a need to distinguish communicative competence from language proficiency, the latter being a part but not the whole of communicative competence. Traditional language teaching, where the teacher lectures to largely passive recipients, seems to have rigorously enforced this dichotomy; that is, it has tried to teach the language (specifically, its syntax and lexis) without integrating it into a total communication situation. This denudes the language of many of the supportive features (e.g., paralinguistic features and environmental correlates) that normally accompany it except in certain limited and predominantly formal situations (e.g., a telephone conversation, radio broadcast, or formal lecture). The unnaturalness of this denuded state and the increased burden it places on the participants in the communication act are reflected in the devices used to facilitate listening, often by adding further levels of redundancy. Such devices include reduced utterance rates, the narrow range of conventionalized utterances that compose parts of telephone conversations, the use of sound effects to suggest familiar physical settings in a radio programme, or the use of illustrations in lectures. In brief, the physical situation supplements the language in a total communication act and the level of communicative competence (and consequently of effective proficiency) is affected by the learner's ability to utilize the situation and his model of the world to assist the act of communication.

CONFIDENCE AND CREATIVITY. Of crucial importance in determining the learner's willingness and ability to bring knowledge to bear on the language task is his confidence, especially his belief in his ability to communicate. It is particularly important in the learning process, as will be seen in subsequent chapters [e.g., Chapter Four, pp. 321 - 325 ; Chapter Five, pp. 485 - 486]. Stern [1974:16-18] clearly illustrates the role of confidence in determining language proficiency when he refers to the native speaker's "spontaneous" knowledge of the register characteristics appropriate in any given social situation, his ability to focus on meaning without having to attend consciously to selecting the right syntactic or functional forms, and his ability to adjust and adapt the language to fit new situations without being restricted "in a robot-like fashion" to what he has learned before "as if [he] had swallowed a phrase-book". It is only when the learner can leave the restrictions of the examples taught in class and use the language with the confidence, creativity and flexibility implicit in Stern's statement that his FL ability approaches that in his L_1.

Such creativity, as Chomsky has pointed out [1965:6; 1959:335], is a fundamental and distinctive characteristic of human language. Thus, one measure of a learner's proficiency is his confidence to go beyond set drills and examples to use the language creatively for the expression of his own ideas and needs. Furthermore, no course can anticipate all the situations and communication acts in which the language will be used: language learning, as Carroll has said [1971:97], is never complete and the learner will be able to cope only when he has the confidence to bring his existing knowledge to bear and to adapt it to meet the varying demands of each situation. It is especially important at more advanced levels since, at this stage, the learner starts to expect more of his language in terms of communicative power and ease of expression. Earlier, his communicative inadequacies may not themselves be unduly demotivating since, in the school system, he is younger and more easily attracted by the game-like aspects of language learning and, as a beginner, he expects, and is more willing to accept, that his communicative ability will be restricted. However, at the advanced stage, his higher expectations make the constraints more discouraging and restrictive unless he has been given confidence to try to communicate and experiment despite errors. It is this confidence and the creativity it helps to generate that enables the learner, in Spolsky's terms [1969a:384], to move from language-like behaviour to knowing the language.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AGAIN. The views on proficiency so far expressed emphasize its relationship to language in use and this, as Spolsky and Brière note [Brière 1971:387-8], accords with the layman's functional notion of language proficiency, such as having the ability to read a newspaper in French, to ask directions, or to write a letter. Such a "definition" entails at least three factors: the ability and confidence to mobilize knowledge of "discrete points" of vocabulary, syntax, etc., for use in "integrated language skills" [cf. Carroll 1971:125]; the ability to utilize these skills in relevant communication tasks requiring a certain, perhaps culturally determined, approach (e.g., issuing an invitation, delivering a lecture, or making notes); and the ability, while doing these two things, to so select from the language repertoire and adapt that the resultant language and the communication act as a whole are appropriate to the particular situation and match the register requirements. Thus, Stern [1974] classifies language proficiency in each "macro-skill" into three grades, elementary, working, and advanced, according to (a) the topics that can be discussed and the contexts in which the language can be used (register range); (b) the accuracy and speed with which the learner can work; and (c) the skills (report or letter writing, for example) that the learner has available [cf. also Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. It is clear that neither the notion of language proficiency, its assessment, or the teaching of language itself can be successfully separated from the contexts and situations in which the language is to be used and the tasks or functions it is to carry out.

COURSE OBJECTIVES AND PROFICIENCY

The range of situations, registers, and functions in which language can be used is potentially infinite and clearly even a native speaker's proficiency must differ through these. No adequate notion of FL proficiency can, therefore, be separated from the learner's objectives (whether his own or imposed by the course) and the registers and functions that these require. The importance of this criterion is evident if one compares the definitions of the highest proficiency levels of the Institute of Linguists [1974a] and the Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies [1968], the former emphasizing such functions as translation and interpreting especially in industrial and commercial enterprises within the learner's own country and the latter emphasizing contexts and functions relevant to the social and professional life of a diplomat abroad. It is evident also in changing student expectations and the changing objectives of school language teaching. Traditionally, school and university language teaching has had literary aims but changed social, economic, and political circumstances have led to increased demands for practical skills, i.e., for proficiency in the language as a means of communication in speech or writing. The dissatisfaction that graduates of school and university language courses feel with the courses they have followed [e.g., Emmans et al. 1974:46] is doubtless partly attributable to the fact that the courses developed proficiency towards literary objectives whereas the subsequent demands made on their skills require proficiency in different registers and functions. Clearly, in aiming to develop or assess proficiency, precise objectives and criteria formulated in terms of registers, functions, and language skills must be specified.

It is difficult to apply these views on the nature of language proficiency to existing language teaching in Australian and British schools and this makes the task of identifying "advanced language learning" more difficult. Most teachers and course writers would probably claim to be teaching the general language or non-specialist register but this notion poses difficulties we have already seen [pp. 14 - 16]. In fact, one is forced to conclude that, often, "classroom French" is taught and one feels some sympathy with the laymen who complain that "the language spoken in France is different".

This non-language of many classrooms is well illustrated in many public examination papers[1] (e.g., the aural comprehension passage in XIV.HSC.72, the various texts in II.A.73 and II.O.74.61-79; or the comprehensions in X.Sn.71). The principal characteristics are an exaggerated, sometimes grandiloquent style, banal content that is either anachronistic and irrelevant to today's students (woodcutters, axes and servants) or of childishly trivial humour (perpetually "jolly", especially at lower levels). The result is

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(1) To preserve the confidentiality that some examining authorities requested, the Chief Examiners' reports will be referenced in a four-symbol code which shows, in order: author's code for the examining authority, level (i.e., O, A, S, HSC, etc.), year, page in the report consulted. Occasionally the page number will be omitted where the reference is to an examination or a report as a whole instead of to an example in the report. A list of the examining authorities from whom copies of Chief Examiners' Reports were requested is shown in Appendix Three. Of these, ten made their reports available.

language that no teenager would use, on topics they would not discuss, and in situations they would never be or want to be in. It is not language used in the way that language is usually used, for a significant purpose: it is a parody of language because the purpose is trivial. The problem is exemplified in the unreality and childishness of the two essays quoted by one examiner as exemplifying what the best students could do [II.O.72.6]. Moreover, the same examiner's comments on candidates' essays in general confirm that the present criticisms are more widely applicable and, indeed, most of the Examiners' Reports reviewed in Chapter Two complain of the same triviality:

> *In the station the majority of candidates spent their hour in the consumption of* une tasse de café *in* le café qui était sur la gare *where they also read* un journal *which they had* acheté dans le magasin qui était (aussi) sur la gare. *A few attempted a description of the crowds and there was an occasional mention of* des trains qui arrivaient et sortaient de la gare *but in most cases the vocabulary was far too meagre to permit the candidate embarking on anything worthwhile in the way of description, even if their imagination might have suggested it.* [II.O.72.6]

Inevitably, their imagination, like their language, must fail because the classroom language teaching process generally precludes it by using situations that do not stimulate imagination or related language but are uniformly banal, insignificant, and purposeless. The policy of the Schools Council Modern Languages Project in listing "inventories" or "topics" to specify the actual nature of the "general language" and to reduce it to specific situations where it is used in achieving specific tasks, helps to avoid the unreality and triviality of "classroom French". Thus, their Alternative O-level examination avoids the faults discussed here and gives a clearer picture of the practical proficiency achieved [see Simpson 1972].

This example derives from the view that, to determine the extent of a learner's real language proficiency, one must assess it in actual use in real situations. In this way, the total skill of language behaviour can be assessed instead of knowledge of discrete components. This global approach stresses the naturalness of the language performance rather than, as in many traditional examinations [cf. Harding 1975], focussing on those aspects of language behaviour (writing, translation, and discrete structures) that are easier to test. However, any attempt to assess the global language skill in real communication situations is fraught with difficulty. We have seen [pp. 14-16] the problems that arise from the differences between even "everyday" situations and, in estimating proficiency, one must first specify the situations to be expected. Then, however, it would seem to be achievement on a course that is being assessed rather than the more abstract and pervasive quality of proficiency, which we like to think of as independent of a course, text, or method [cf. Brière 1971:385].

Nevertheless, despite these problems and the subjectivity of the assessment, it is this global approach that the Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies uses with considerable success. At lower levels, specific situations and functions are specified but, at the most advanced levels, these are broad enough to constitute global knowledge of the language. Accuracy, fluency and vocabulary range are also indicated. Carroll [1967:133, 145] found that FSI ratings correlated closely with results on the MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students and they have shown a high degree of acceptability when correlated with the actual performance of the examinees in their work situations [Wilds 1965:11]. However, this exceptional accuracy is achieved only by precise definition of proficiency levels and the use of highly skilled teams of examiners including at least one native speaker and a linguist, who spend perhaps an hour with each candidate, an impossible procedure in a large school system involving teachers who may themselves have limited proficiency.

As yet, no precise specification of proficiency levels comparable to that of the FSI has been offered by examining bodies in British and Australian school systems. Moller [1975] comments that students, teachers, and other "end-users" of foreign language proficiency ratings have no alternative but to rely on "the gnomes of Cambridge" (or Oxford, Brisbane or

Hobart) in their determination of what constitutes proficiency. Yet, the Emmans report [Emmans et al. 1974:46], supported by anecdotal evidence from students who try to use their language and from tertiary institutions dissatisfied with the proficiency of First Year students, suggests that this reliance is not well placed. The situation is made more confusing by lack of specificity in the syllabuses (although, in Britain, some scattered improvement in this has followed the James and Rouve survey [cf. Rouve 1975:46]). Thus, the Cambridge language syllabuses do not define expected proficiency levels but only indicate test types which are such, we shall see subsequently, as to make a valid and reliable estimate unlikely. The Tasmanian syllabus lists also the expected structures [Schools Board of Tasmania 1973:97-98] but this does little to elucidate practical proficiency [cf. pp. 9-12]. The Queensland French Syllabus is slightly more informative about skill levels but its objective seems to be almost S-5, R-5 on the FSI scale, an over-optimistic aim in a 500-hour course spread over 5 years (cf. the FSI estimate of 720 hours in 24 weeks to reach S-3 [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973]):

> *The object of five years' study of French is to promote a sympathetic understanding of the French-speaking peoples, their way of life and their culture; to develop the student's capacity to read French with ease and understanding; to understand the language when he hears it spoken; to converse accurately and idiomatically in the language; and to express his ideas accurately and idiomatically in writing.* [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:1]

Relating proficiency to assessments of course achievement is made more difficult by conditions surrounding the formal public examinations where the assessment is made, in particular, the physical surroundings and the nervousness caused by the examinations' irrevocability [cf. II.A and O.71.4-5]. It is impossible to separate such factors from achievement and it seems to be not language proficiency that is in question but examination proficiency [cf. Radford 1970: Chapters Four and Six]. This view is borne out by the comment that

> *Conversation was often reported to be 'hard-going' because of the lack of any sort of preparation on the part of the candidates.*
> [II.A.71.9]

If prior preparation is necessary for a conversation or if prior preparation for a testing technique significantly enhances the learner's performance on it, it suggests that something other than language proficiency or communication ability is being assessed, viz., a formal examination skill mastered by a learned technique.

ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNING: A Working Definition

Clearly, existing syllabuses and examinations provide little information on proficiency levels attained or the skills students bring to advanced language learning. They fail in this because they over-simplify the nature of skill in language use and focus generally on one or two factors such as syntax or lexis. The foregoing discussion suggests that, in view of the complexity of the act of communication, the only satisfactory approach to assessment is one based on global skills. However, this would still leave unclear the nature of advanced language learning and its distinctive characteristics. In fact, whatever definition of proficiency could be devised, arbitrary cut-off points would still have to be specified to distinguish elementary, intermediate, and advanced levels.

For the purposes of this discussion, it is convenient to relate the cut-off points to exit-points in the education system. The intermediate-to-advanced cut-off point will be taken here to coincide approximately with matriculation and advanced language learning to refer to that which takes place at tertiary level. This is not intended to equate language learning with current teaching and learning procedures of tertiary language departments but refers rather to the level of language learning that occurs after approximately 5 years of Secondary School (i.e., unintensive) language study. More specifically in Australian terms, the advanced level comes after 480 to 500 hours of FL tuition (excluding home studies). According to FSI estimates for intensive courses, in 480 hours (16 weeks), a student of average ability will probably reach S-2 in a Germanic or Romance language [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973]. Since school language teaching is much less intensive, attainment is also likely to be less and, in fact, the language of British and Australian matriculation students seems to fall in the S-1+ to S-2 range with, occasionally, a reading proficiency of R-3 (minimum professional proficiency) [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 72 - 76]. These estimates, when different intensities are allowed for, match the CNAA's estimate of about 250-300 hours of concentrated study to bring beginning students to the level of matriculants [Council for National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:Par. 9.22].

The characteristics of the language that students bring to tertiary institutions are discussed in Chapter Two. In general terms, such students could claim to have "covered" the basic grammar of the FL at the sentence level and to be capable of reading with enough ease for enjoyment texts controlled to the 3,000 word level with possible additional capability in some area of special interest (cf. the reading recommendations for Grade 12 French in Queensland [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:14-19]). In other words, they should have mastered the major rules for sentence structure, have sufficient vocabulary to meet the demands of some everyday situations, and have some rudimentary acquaintance with the civilisation and culture of the C_2. It is unlikely that they will communicate with ease and fluency in either speech or writing, and their vocabulary will frequently fail them especially in "real life" situations outside the classroom. Few will have spent an extended period in the C_2 and most will have learned the language in the rigid classroom situation with all the deficiencies that entails. Hence, their level of communicative competence is unlikely to be great and most, especially those who have experienced "traditional" teaching methods, will think in their L_1 and operate via translation in both production and comprehension. In particular, the registers and functions with which they are familiar will be very limited and will be insufficient to enable them to operate with native-like flexibility and creativity. The task of teachers of advanced students is to bring them from this stage of development to a stage where their proficiency in the FL approximates that in their L_1 and the FL becomes an effective tool for the achievement of whatever ends individual students may desire.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

A theoretical framework within which applied linguistics can operate was outlined in the Preface. More specifically, this thesis will examine, in Chapter Two, the nature of the language the advanced learner brings with him from secondary school, the skills he has available, the needs implied for advanced courses, and, in Chapter Three, the adequacy of existing advanced language teaching to meet the needs.

Since the nature of language learning will affect how language is taught, Chapter Four will seek insights from psycholinguistics to provide a basis for method development. Such insights ought, desirably, to come from studies of adult L_2 learning, especially "natural" L_2 learning not influenced by formal tuition. However, such studies are too few to provide a substantial basis for method development and L_1 acquisition studies will also be examined for their relevance.

It was suggested earlier that the social situation affects language learning and teaching. Therefore, in Chapter Five, the nature of the social environment where the learning takes place will be considered insofar as it impinges on the learner and affects why and how he learns language. This discussion will be oriented especially towards the Australian society whose multiculturalism raises vital issues for language teaching and learning, issues which have been largely ignored by language teachers both in Australia and elsewhere.

Finally, the insights gained from the study of the advanced learner's language, his needs, his learning strategies and the environment will be used as a basis for method development in Chapter Six.

In brief, the concern of this thesis is with the stage of language proficiency immediately after matriculation, S-1+ to S-2 on the FSI Scales [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. The aim is to discover ways in which to rapidly increase the learner's proficiency in order to give him more useful practical skills and to make the language a viable tool for the achievement of whatever individual purposes (recreational, vocational, or social) he may subsequently have. In addition, language learning will be seen to be of important societal relevance and language teaching and learning will be related to desirable social goals especially within a society of a distinctive, though now increasingly frequent, type, viz., a multicultural society containing diverse languages, cultures, and races. Using the bases outlined above, the principles influencing method development for advanced language teaching will be established and desirable changes to existing practice will be recommended. Though French will frequently be referred to, the matters discussed should be taken to apply to language teaching in general.

CHAPTER TWO

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NEED TO STUDY MATRICULATION PROFICIENCY

In Chapter One [pp. 4 - 5], the importance of being able to specify the FL skills that students bring to tertiary institutions was argued. The nature of advanced language learning and the needs that advanced language teaching must meet can be identified only if the nature of the starting-point is known. Reed gives the specification of matriculants' language development first priority for research and states:

> *In the first place, it is highly desirable that we have some idea of the linguistic attainment of the average 'A' level candidate. The examining Boards do not publish this information and it does not seem to be readily available elsewhere. From this we could establish a point de départ.* [cf. J. Reed 1971:123]

Similarly, James and Rouve deplore the lack of specific information on what should be learned and what skills should be developed at each level in the different languages:

> *Discussion of the general comparability of standards of achievement required in various languages seems often to be confined to such crude notions as the numbers of 'words' to be learned or whether the subjunctive should be taught at 'O' level. There has been a noticeable lack of serious attempts to assess objectively not only the relative difficulty for English speakers of learning various languages, but more usefully perhaps, which particular skills in the five languages learners should be expected to acquire at different stages of learning.* [James and Rouve 1973:11]

There are, of course, the statements of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies

[1968; 1973] on the skills and proficiency levels that students of different aptitudes reach in courses of different duration at the FSI. However, no detailed information of this sort is available for the British and Australian school systems.

The source of many of the problems in specifying the general proficiency of matriculating students lies in the nature of the matriculation examinations. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the Chief Examiners' reports on the performance of candidates in these examinations does provide some insight into the nature of their language and they point to areas of need that more advanced language teaching must take into account. In this chapter, the reports of the Chief Examiners in French for ten examining authorities in Britain and Australia over a period from 1970 to 1974 have been used to provide an estimate of the language proficiency of matriculation French students and of their areas of need.

However, one might query this approach on a number of grounds and the next section will consider the problems and advantages in adopting it.

ADEQUACY OF MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS

A thorough review of British and Australian matriculation examinations is not to be undertaken here since, for Britain at least, comprehensive studies have recently been published. However, the general nature of the examinations will be discussed and their suitability as a basis on which to estimate student proficiency considered.

Harding [1975] and James and Rouve [1974] surveyed British examinations and found considerable diversity in goals and in test content. Skill weightings, for example, varied widely (from 30 to 40% for writing, 8 to 18% for speaking, 7 to 49% for reading, and, where it is tested at all, never more than 10% for listening [Harding 1975]). All examinations strongly favoured the translation-literature pattern of university courses [cf. James and Rouve 1974:58] and gave scant recognition to oral skills, which never received over 25% weighting (except in Queensland [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:4]) and were often much lower [cf. James and Rouve 1973: Table 12; Harding 1975].

In this thesis, matriculation examinations have been surveyed for two purposes, first, to indicate the level of language proficiency that students have reached and, second, to specify their linguistic and communicative competence and deficiencies so that guidance is given for course content in the advanced stage.

The problem of precisely specifying the learner's proficiency was discussed in Chapter One, pp. 6-38, but of equal seriousness is the fact that the examinations are not, in reality, intended for this purpose. Matriculation examinations, by their very nature, are predictive rather than achievement or proficiency tests. That is, they are used to select for tertiary entry, i.e., to predict students' likelihood of success in university courses which, in teaching and examining practice, generally retain the traditional grammar-translation-literature focus [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33; James and Rouve 1973: 93-130; Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975:30].

Matriculation examinations could be used to accurately estimate proficiency if they justly assessed achievement on courses designed to promote proficiency or if they were appropriately designed to estimate proficiency *per se*, irrespective of the course followed. Neither of these is the case. First, they do not claim to assess any specifically designated courses. Thus the Schools Council and Standing Conference on University Entrance [1973:14, 41] point out that responsibility for the sixth-form curriculum lies with the schools and the curriculum should not be confused with the final examination. In addition, the sixth-form syllabuses, in Britain at least, are either vague or virtually non-existent [cf. Lee 1972:19] and consequently are unable to provide guidance. Hawkins noted this difficulty in 1970:

> *...it cannot be said that there exists anywhere a statement of agreed objectives in sixth-form Modern Language teaching, still less in testing. The 'skills' to be mastered and tested, are nowhere defined. The assumption is made that 'French' or 'German' (whatever that may be taken to mean) can be assessed by means of translation of short gobbets of prose, from and into the foreign language, the selection of the gobbets being subjective, limited only by the 'feeling' of a conscientious and experienced examiner, helped by a small panel of practising teachers, who presumably are satisfied that over the years they have built up a 'platonic idea' of the kind of prose that the average sixth former can manage to translate.* [Hawkins 1970:139]

Secondly, we shall see subsequently that the format of the examinations with their emphasis on translation, literature and discrete lexical and syntactic facts is not conducive to valid and reliable estimates of proficiency nor to teaching that will promote the development of proficiency or communicative competence [cf. James and Rouve 1973:57-62, Table 12; Harding 1975]. Rather, success on them seems to depend on mastery of particular examination skills [pp. 57 - 64]. Nevertheless, the matriculation examination is so important in determining each student's future life that it inevitably exerts a very strong influence on the curriculum and, therefore, on the type and level of skills developed. Thus, the examinations have become syllabuses determining objectives, methods and content. The Schools Council and Standing Conference on University Entrance acknowledges this effect:

> *Over the years the universities have exerted a very strong influence on sixth-form curricula through the operation of their entrance requirements.* [Schools Council and Standing Conference on University Entrance 1973:16]

It goes on to indicate the limiting effect this has had on the curriculum since it turns the *testing* exercises into syllabus guidelines and teaching techniques [cf. Hawkins 1970:138] and leads

> *to the neglect of any aspects of specialist studies that will not enhance the prospect of higher marks in the examination.* [Schools Council and Standing Conference on University Entrance 1973:19]

A practising teacher states:

> *...the candidate must, at the end of the two-year course, be in a position to deal successfully with the A-level examination. Hence, as the course proceeds, the requirements of the examination inevitably determine the nature of the work.* [Tucker 1970:38]

The ultimate effect is that matriculation examinations do not assess language proficiency or encourage teaching techniques that would promote it. The Schools Council commented in 1970 (and there is no evidence of widespread change since then [cf. p.72]):

> *The nature of the present G.C.E. 'A' level examination papers affects teaching in the classroom in a number of ways that nearly all those who were consulted agreed are regrettable.* [Schools Council 1970:11]

The problem of using matriculation examinations to gain insight into the nature of student proficiency is exacerbated by the apparent confusion that exists in the ultimate objectives of the examinations and the test types used. It is particularly obvious in the literature component of the examinations. That literature occurs at all suggests a confusion in objectives and in recognition of the skills that can appropriately be developed at each stage. Undoubtedly, literature is included in response to vaguely felt but strenuously expressed urgings towards general educational and cultural objectives but the result is to confuse the *development* of a skill with its sophisticated *application* in literary appreciation [cf. James and Rouve 1973:59]. Literary appreciation by its very nature demands highly developed language skills, sensitivity to language variation, and an understanding of and sensitivity towards the culture and civilisation from which it springs. Strevens well juxtaposes literature against the needs of the language learner:

> *...precisely because it is subtle and creative and special, the language of literary works is different from, and cannot be used for teaching, everyday discourse...because literary works exploit vastly more of the total possible range of linguistic devices, more acquaintance with these devices is needed* before *the impact of literature can be appreciated.* [Strevens 1968:218]

However, it is clear from the Examiners' Reports that most matriculation students have minimal knowledge of the C_2 and their language skills, being not in excess of S-2, R-2 on the FSI scales [cf. pp. 72 - 76] or "Elementary" to "Working" on Stern's [1974] scales, are considerably inferior to those needed for literary appreciation, at least R-4 (FSI scales) and "Advanced" (Stern's). Until this level is reached, one might expect the focus of attention to fall on developing fluent reading skills. Yet this is not so: literary appreciation is expected but it is not achieved. Almost all the reports reviewed deplore the lack of perceptivity of the students and their tendency merely to re-narrate [cf. pp. 138-143]. James and Rouve quote statements from examiners that well illustrate this and underline the confusion that is implicit in assuming a sophisticated objective before the pre-requisite linguistic tools and model of the world are available:

> *...too many synopses of plot in lieu of answers; too much irrelevant material of all kinds; too many answers (often clearly prepared) to questions other than the ones on the paper.* [Quoted in James and Rouve 1973:60]

And again,

> *Many answers did not relate to the questions set, being clearly composed of material rehearsed in advance...* [ibid.:60]

The confusion is very clear in a comment by a German examiner in 1971:

> *...how much credibility can one attach to an apparently thorough understanding of four texts from widely different epochs in German literature, accompanied by a minimal showing on translation from the language, not to mention gross errors in writing it?* [Quoted in James and Rouve 1973:60]

The result is that the desirable ultimate goal of literary appreciation and development of an artistic sense is not achieved and, instead of responding directly to the work through the FL, the student comes to rely on second-hand ideas from the teacher. The confusing effect of literature questions on estimates of proficiency is seen also in the fact that Harding [1975] surveying British examinations and Carroll [1967:59] looking at College majors in the U.S. found that literature results bore no significant correlation with other estimates of student language proficiency.

Furthermore, the struggle to understand excessively difficult and subtle material encourages word-by-word translation into the L_1, necessitates much dictionary-searching, and develops bad reading habits. Its presence reduces the time available for other more accessible reading matter such as controlled texts or scientific and technical texts, which are placed in "Working Knowledge" by Stern [1974] and R-2 by the FSI. Such materials would more readily encourage fluent reading skills, facilitate wider experience of the language, and hence better develop proficiency. In brief, the presence of literature in most matriculation examinations[1] makes it more difficult for those examinations to be a true reflection of language proficiency and, because of their effect on the schools' teaching programme, adversely affects the development of desirable skills. Hill [1972:72], for example, found that students entering the University of Kent had to be taught to read, that is, to stop reciphering word-by-word and learn to read fluently without compulsive translation.

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(1) One exception is the Queensland syllabus in French where students are encouraged to read widely in their own areas of special interest and to select texts that are at their level of linguistic ability. Literature is recommended only for the most advanced classes [see Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:2, 14, 19].

Confusion over what various test types assess, what it is appropriate to assess at matriculation level, and how to assess proficiency is also seen in the translation exercises used. If translation is being examined as a special skill or special language function, as many of the Examiners' Reports suggest [e.g., II.O.73.3; II.A.72.15; VII.HSC.70.2], then the exercise is premature since the art of translation demands considerable skill in both languages. If it is being used to test reading comprehension, it is inappropriate and more valid test types are available. In fact, the examiners' comments invariably show confusion over what is being tested. For example, even though the examiner in II.O.72 seems to imply that comprehension of French is being assessed, he emphasizes that unidiomatic English is penalized [II.O.72.3]. Similar confusion was implicit in a statement by H.S. Otter, Assistant Secretary of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, at an M.L.A. meeting in Cambridge in May 1975 when he defended failing non-native English speakers in French examinations if their English was poor. Another examiner stated categorically that in a comprehension test English expression cannot be ignored [VII.HSC.70.9; cf. I.O.73.3]. It would be appropriate to take account of English expression if it is the special language function of translation into the L_1 that is being assessed but that function requires a level of cultural understanding and proficiency in both languages not attained by matriculation. If it is comprehension of French that is being assessed, then an extraneous factor (viz., proficiency in English composition) vitiates the assessment.

Similar confusion between comprehension and English expression is seen in the literature questions where assessment of literary appreciation or reading skills in the FL is contaminated by English composition skills and the recall of second-hand facts. Thus, another examiner stated:

> [Candidates] *can be expected to show reasonable competence in those general literate skills which subjects like English, History and Modern Languages all seek to develop. They should be able to select from what they remember about a set text the facts which are relevant to the question they have been asked. And they should be able to organize these facts into a logical and succinct answer, stating their points lucidly and writing in correct English with some semblance of style.* [II.A.72.15-16]

The same confusion often appears in reading comprehension questions answered in the FL and in essay assessment. In the former, students who have shown that they understand the passage and the question are nevertheless penalized because of language errors made in writing the answers [e.g., II.C.72.8 and 9]. James and Rouve [1974:3] encountered this confusion in surveying curricula and performance and found that their analysis of what was being tested was often quite different from that of the Examining Boards. One would assume that the purpose of essays in examinations is to assess the candidate's ability to communicate his own ideas in the FL; errors may be regrettable but, unless communication is implicated, the first priority should be self-expression and the ability to convey interesting and original ideas. However, examiners generally reverse these priorities, one, for example, stating that "[candidates] should always avoid being carried away by their own ideas" in essay-writing [XIV.HSC.72.4].

Confusion over the purpose of a test item and its ability to assess language proficiency is also evident in the use of the "prose" (i.e., translation into the FL). Its purpose must be to assess either the special language function of translation into the FL or self-expression in the FL. However, translation requires a high level of proficiency in both languages but expecially the target language and, in fact, the Institute of Linguists [1974:12] bars its members from translating into a FL. The prose does not test self-expression so much as the ability to put someone else's words into the FL and, as the Schools Council observed [1970:12], it is partly pure chance whether the student has met the vocabulary and structures the passage requires. In real self-expression, on the other hand, a speaker is free to "work around" deficiencies. The prose seems, in fact, to discourage fluent expression and to encourage a cryptographic approach, problems being solved one component item at a time. This process is further encouraged by the tendency for examiners to include traps in the prose to test out the good candidates. This in itself invalidates the assessment since the student is forced to adopt a meticulous word-by-word approach requiring skills quite different from the spontaneous production of language and obliging him to use vocabulary and structures which he may not know or may be unable to recall adequately. He does so, not in order to convey certain ideas (which he would normally be able to choose alternative means to express), but simply in order to solve the problem that the examiner poses. Its parallel is seen in the translation into English and seems the only explanation for the non-English that is continually produced in such exercises [I.O.71.2; IV.A.70.31; XIII.A.71.73; VII.HSC.69.5]. This led one examiner to complain of "a disturbing tendency to translate words instead of meanings" [IV.S.74.43] and another to observe that "some candidates seem to have the idea that translation is a sort of decoding exercise, where a one-for-one equivalent exists..." [I.O.73.3]. That is, it is not language production that is involved or language proficiency that is assessed but cryptographic re-ciphering, a specific examination technique of "doing proses" which has little relevance to real language use. This criticism finds support in the low correlation that exists between proses and essays [e.g., IV.A.70.30]. It is significant that very often the prose is superior to the essay [e.g., IV.A.70.30; XII.CSYS.73.9; VII.HSC.70.14] since it is a skill much practised in preparation for the examination and its apparent lack of correlation with productive writing suggests that it is less a language skill that is entailed than conscious problem-solving applying rules and manipulating counters (or words). Similarly, errors differ between proses and the oral test and it seems probable that it is in the latter, where he is operating under pressure, that the learner's real linguistic competence appears. In the former, he has the time to apply, however erroneously, the rules he has consciously memorized but not perhaps assimilated into his linguistic (as against conscious, cryptographic) repertoire [cf. the distinction between formal and informal learning in Chapter Four, pp. 363 -366].

The very fact that specific attention to the prose in teaching pays off more than the use of other exercises more relevant to the development of language proficiency suggests that it entails skills other than language proficiency and communicative competence. In fact, teachers find it advantageous in terms of examination results to devote considerable time to it:

> *The most contentious problem is the prose translation test... One effect of the central, prestigious place of 'prose' seems to be that most schools regularly set prose translation exercises as part of their sixth form* teaching *programme.* [Schools Council 1970:12]

And

> *Many teachers, including some with very able pupils, begrudge the considerable time they have to spend with candidates for the ordinary level drilling them in translation from English into French - time which they would wish to spend on wider reading, or oral practice, and on writing guided and free compositions.*
> [Schools Council 1969:21]

If the examination is to justly reflect language proficiency, the test types used should replicate as far as possible natural language use in communication tasks that are realistic and relevant to the practical purposes for which the students are learning the language [cf. Chapter One, pp. 14 - 16 , 33 - 38]. Insofar as the existing examinations are used to select students for traditional university courses, they are relevant to the students' purposes but, increasingly today, their task is much broader than this. They serve also as "leaving" examinations and as selectors for polytechnics, C.A.E.'s, Teachers Colleges and non-language university departments. All of these institutions will be interested in the student's ability to use the language (e.g., in teaching or to gain access to FL documents), i.e., their interest is in language proficiency rather than facility in traditional language examination exercises. Since many university courses focus on these traditional actiyities [cf. pp. 193 -244], they probably select quite efficiently for them. However, personal experience, Carroll's survey

[1967, 1967a] and the Emmans survey of graduates [Emmans et al. 1974:46] suggest that university courses are not very successful in developing practical language skills, i.e., the most that could be claimed is that the examinations select suitable recruits for courses that do not develop language proficiency but only proficiency in activities unique to those courses and examinations and of little relevance to real-life language use.

We saw earlier that the prose involves skills other than language proficiency and that prose translation into the FL is not a skill relevant to matriculation students. Similarly, most examinations require a formal essay which is equally irrelevant since it is a written form neither produced nor read by most people except during formal academic education. Only in some places is it being supplemented by more relevant forms such as letters. The dictation, almost universally used to test aural skills, is equally rare in real life.

Intrusion by specific examination-answering techniques occurs in any test type on which performance is significantly improved by specific practice rather than by development of language proficiency. This was seen to be the case with the prose and it is especially evident in those tests, such as dictation, where ritual answering techniques pay dividends.

It is implicit in this examiner's comments:

> *We feel that students should adopt a more critical approach to the first reading, and instead of grasping at words, try to understand the general meaning of the passage... Many candidates do not make the best use of the five minutes revision period to read through their work, check for grammatical errors and make certain that what they have written makes sense.* [II.A.72.21]

Some examiners seem more concerned with this factor than others:

> *...one might have expected better training in examination technique to have led to an improvement in the handling of answers. No such improvement, however, is observable...* [VII.HSC.70.19]

Others expect the students' training in examination technique to overcome the examiner's own failure to communicate his expectations:

> *...many candidates made a poor showing because they did not realise clearly enough what was expected of them. They needed to be told more specifically what qualities the examination was designed to test.* [II.A.72.22]

Still others expect the candidate to know what to do even where the examiner is at fault. This is often seen in comments on the conversation tests where candidates are expected to "make the running" and not to answer just yes or no [e.g., I.O.71.5; IV.A.73.33]. However, the student who is more garrulous or who participates as if in a real conversation and asks questions could be considered unmindful of the interpersonal roles and concomitant registers involved in the situation. It also suggests that the student is expected to know the "examination trick" of compensating for the examiner's inadequate questions that lead to yes-no answers. Other examiners expect students to accept the "conversation" test as not "conversation" and they are penalized for responding in a normal conversational manner:

> *...very many gave the minimum number of words in their answer, and avoided using verbs:* A quelle heure venez-vous le matin au lycée... *elicited the reply:* A neuf heures *which is of course, correct, but does not show the full extent of the candidate's knowledge...* [I.O.73.6]

Clearly, what is assessed here is not conversational skills or language proficiency but ability to handle an examination technique. In fact, the examiner debars communicative competence since "long answers" are, in general, unnatural and their formality may even stifle conversation amongst younger people who prefer informal relationships.

Assessment of the student's knowledge of examination techniques interferes with assessment of proficiency in some comprehension questions also. Despite questions that are logically answered using segments of the given text, the student is expected to ignore logic and, for purposes of the examination, compose some other answer. One report stated:

> *...it should not be assumed that lifting that answer from the text will be rewarded...even with a high mark...we shall continue to give marks for the quality and originality of the French used rather than for mere comprehension.* [I.O.73.4]

Elsewhere, examiners seem to try deliberately to trap the candidate into answering inappropriately:

> *Properly interpreted, [the literature questions] can be seen to invite reasoned discussion, but they do tempt candidates into offering a simple, plot-dominated, list-of-instances answer; and most candidates succumbed to this temptation.* [II.A.72.18]

In brief, the proficiency assessments made by matriculation examinations are often invalidated by the interference of extraneous factors relevant to examination-answering technique.

The context in which the language of matriculation examinations occurs also makes them less likely to elicit a reliable or valid assessment of proficiency. In Chapter One [pp. 14-16, 25-28], we saw the importance of the total communication situation in influencing communication ability. Nervousness is a factor for some candidates [cf. II.A/O.71.4], and it is hard to see how inability to speak the language fluently could be distinguished from similar inability from nervousness. Sometimes the physical surroundings and organization for the examinations contaminate the assessment [II.A/O.71.5], as do such factors as careful reading of instructions, hand-writing, neatness [II.O.72.3; I.O.73.3], examiners' errors [II.O.72.8; IV.O.73.12], and frequent variation in question difficulty [e.g., II.O.72.7; IV.O.74.10; VII.HSC.73.8]. Picture interpretation imposes particularly acute problems when picture series are used to provide the story outline for written compositions. If the misinterpretation is culturally determined, it may not be irrelevant to assessment of proficiency since adequate FL learning entails also the acquisition of the FL model of the world [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977: especially Chapters 3 and 5]. However, most misinterpretations are at a more superficial and arguable level and, before he assesses the language, the examiner has to assess the validity of the interpretation of the picture [cf. II.O.72.4]. James and Rouve observe:

> *Clearly such lack of 'appreciation' is not a matter of language performance, but the result is nevertheless a 'decline in standard' in the execution of the test, for which the fault is the examining board's, not the candidate's.*
> [James and Rouve 1973:50]

Formal accuracy is a highly contentious issue, interferes in proficiency assessments, and will be considered more fully subsequently [pp. 76 - 84 ; Chapter Four, pp. 421 - 423; Chapter Six pp. 603 - 606]. It is one factor in proficiency but communication can take place with less than complete accuracy, the limit below which it cannot go being the point where communication becomes hampered. Matriculation examinations have traditionally valued formal accuracy more highly than self-expression and, without exception, examiners seem to concentrate much attention on spelling, use of accents, and phonetically irrelevant endings [cf. pp. 76 - 84]. This has a debilitating effect on communication and, taken to excess, constitutes a false ordering of priorities. Developmentally, L_1 studies would suggest that "errors" result from the progressive development of the systematic grammar and they can be avoided only if the learner is not striving to develop his internalized systematic grammar in communication [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 341 - 347 and pp. 421 -423]. With respect to objectives, what matters to the language learner is that he learn to communicate for, without that, he has nothing of utilitarian value to take out of the classroom. Once communicative ability is secure and less likely to be inhibited by self-conscious attention to meticulous detail, then the learner can more deliberately develop the subtleties, accuracy and social acceptability of his language. The invalidity incurred when emphasis falls on formal accuracy rather than success of communication is observed when native speakers of the language achieve lower marks on traditional matriculation papers than do non-native students, yet this is by no means a rare occurrence if anecdotal evidence from Australia with its large migrant population and from Britain is to be believed. Such students seem often to do less well because relatively minor errors of little communicative significance (accents, spelling, or phonetically irrelevant endings) become overprized. Such inconsistencies are popularly explained by saying that native speakers can talk the language but do not know the grammar like those who have been taught it systematically; yet such a view is linguistically untenable [cf. Chomsky 1965:8-9, 18-27] and entails a peculiar notion of language proficiency and of the function of language examinations.

It is clear that the examinations on which the Chief Examiners' Reports are based neither directly assess proficiency nor encourage teaching techniques to promote it. This is confirmed experientially by the inability of the vast majority of matriculating students to use the language adequately in practical situations for practical communication purposes [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:72-3, 80; Holland 1970:124 and, on the inability of students in conversation, see II.A.71.7; IV.O.72.10; IV.A.73.33; XII.CSYS.73.11]. Clearly, the reports cannot be taken as direct statements of proficiency. Instead, they will be used for data for error analysis to identify areas of weakness and, balanced against the notion of communicative competence discussed in Chapter One [pp. 12-31], to suggest probable placement of matriculants on the FSI proficiency scale.

Furthermore, five factors make worthwhile the use of the reports to give insight into the language of matriculation students. Of most importance, their use effectively means that the sample that can be surveyed is vastly increased from perhaps a few dozen subjects to tens of thousands. Second, there is striking similarity between the reports of the different examining authorities in Britain and Australia. Third, despite the wide individual differences that occur within any set of matriculation students [e.g., II.A.72.13; II.O.72.3 and 4; XVII.L.73.1; XVII.M.71.1 and 2; IV.A.73.31], certain persistent characteristics emerge from the reports, there is much repetition in the errors noted, and the examiners frequently comment that those listed are typical of the majority of students [e.g., VII.HSC.70.15; IV.A.74.31; II.A.72.13]. Thus, the errors discussed are likely to be general rather than idiosyncratic and to reflect general limits of competence rather than be inadvertent errors of performance. Fourth, in their proficiency estimates and in the deficiencies listed, the reports closely accord with estimates of proficiency made in other ways [cf. pp. 72 - 76] and with the writer's own experience as an examiner of Senior French in Queensland over a number of years. Fifth, it is possible to look beyond the surface features discussed to gain some idea of the major areas of development or inadequacy in terms of rule acquisition, discourse mastery, language functions, registers, or model of the world.

One further aspect of the choice of reports surveyed needs consideration, viz., the use of reports based on matriculation examinations in several Australian States and on O- and A-level examinations in Britain. Several factors justify this choice. Most importantly, there is considerable similarity between the reports from the various sources and, in fact, in reading the O- and A-level reports, one is struck by the more critical tone of the latter, the similarity in the errors noted, and the apparently slight increase in language proficiency that occurs [cf. IV.A.72.30; IV.A.74.31; I.S.71.28]. This is not surprising, despite the nominal increase of 300 hours in language classes that A-level students experience, since a marked change in activity occurs in the sixth-form with much time spent in activities that are inefficient in promoting language development. Such activities include prose translation and literary study but, more crucially, most of the class activity is conducted in English and this reduces the students' use of the language. Yet we will see in Chapter Four that use is of overriding importance in determining the success of language learning, as Carroll [1967a] found in assessing American college majors, as Burstall [1974:63; 206-207] found in looking at Primary School French teaching in Britain, and as Gupta and Stern [1969] found in studying second dialect learning. Furthermore, this thesis focusses particularly on advanced language learning under Australian conditions and the number of in-class hours that Australian matriculants have devoted to the FL (about 500) is approximately the same as that for O-level. The activities that these students have followed (at least according to syllabus recommendations in Queensland) also resemble the more progressive O-level courses where emphasis falls on the development of the four macro-skills rather than on literature and prose translation [cf. Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973; Buckby 1972; Simpson 1972].

The final factor that makes the use of both O- and A-level reports useful together with the Australian matriculation reports is the wide range of ability and individual differences that the reports reveal [cf. J. Reed 1971:119]. Holland also noted this wide range of individual differences at this level and the inability of A-level grades to reflect communicative competence:

> *It is well to point out at once that first-year students entering the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences at Reading University show no uniform competence in the French language. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that their A-level grade... may often give no indication of their active linguistic skill.*
> [Holland 1970:124]

In brief, the reports by the Chief Examiners reveal matriculation students' characteristic errors and their wide range of ability. The former factor permits some insight into language proficiency at matriculation to be obtained and suggests needs for subsequent courses to meet. The latter has profound consequences for the strategies required if advanced language teaching is to be made relevant to the needs of each student.

SUMMARY

To sum up, although a careful reading of the Chief Examiners' reports on language examinations at the end of Secondary School can give some insights into the nature of the language development of learners as they enter the advanced stage, there remain many problems. These include, most fundamentally, the lack of any clearly formulated syllabus on which the examinations may be based and which, in explicit terms clearly related to the various facets of language proficiency and of communicative competence, may indicate the examiners' expectations and the likely areas and levels of development. The only matriculation French syllabuses which attempt this are Queensland's [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973] and, at O-level, the Schools Council Modern Languages Project [Buckby 1972; Simpson 1972; Schools Council Modern Languages Project 1972] but neither of these were of immediate usefulness for the present study. Other difficulties include the increasingly ambiguous role of matriculation examinations and the confusion of test objectives which partly results from this ambiguity. Thus, the skills examined have been those relevant to the university courses the examinations traditionally selected students for and have revolved especially around written exercises in translation both ways and literary appreciation. Regrettably, these testing procedures have become paradigms for teaching and learning procedures, thus damaging the teaching process as well as themselves only poorly reflecting natural language use, language proficiency, or communicative competence. The nature of these tests as well as other features of the examinations lead one to conclude that the assessment of foreign language development that they present is heavily contaminated by components relevant to specific skill in doing matriculation language examinations. Results on them have little direct significance for foreign language proficiency and communicative competence. This criticism remains valid despite some changes that are starting to appear. Prose translation, for example, persists despite the occasional offer of alternatives such as, for the London Board, a guided composition and, for Oxford, a précis [Harding 1975] while the premature incursion into literature remains though the emphasis is now often on the twentieth century [cf. James and Rouve 1973:58]. Nevertheless, error analysis using data from the Examiners' Reports can give some insight into typical areas of error and inadequacy. When these are correlated with estimates of proficiency gained in other ways, some picture of language development and areas of need for subsequent courses emerges.

PROFICIENCY LEVELS AT MATRICULATION

ESTIMATES OF LEVEL

In estimating student proficiency levels from Chief Examiners' reports, care must be exercised since the reports largely list common faults, concentrating on what students cannot rather than on what they can, do. It is, therefore, easy to receive an unduly pessimistic impression of student proficiency. In addition, the examiners' own estimates are generally vague and subjective and rarely include clear performance characteristics which, we saw in Chapter One, pp. 6 - 31, are essential if language proficiency is to be meaningfully specified. The following statements illustrate the difficulty in relating examiners' statements to precise performance characteristics:

> *There were a number of candidates who read fairly well or very well, but reading by some was disappointing.* [I.A.73.30]
>
> *...total incompetence was rarer than in some previous years, but the amount of undistinguished work remained still very large.* [XIII.S.71.75]
>
> *...there is still much that is well below the standard required.* [I.O.71.1]

In Chapter One, pp. 38 - 41, it was suggested that students at matriculation achieve a proficiency level on the FSI scales of approximately S-1+ to S-2 with a reading proficiency of R-2 or, rarely, R-3. This estimate seems to accord with the proficiency the FSI expects to be reached in the class time available [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973], the characteristics that can be deduced from the Examiners' Reports [see pp. 76 -154], and the present writer's own experience of students at matriculation and beyond since the early 1960's. It will be seen in the analysis of the reports that follows that this is a generous estimate and that many students who present themselves at matriculation fall well below S-1+, R-2.

Another estimate of language development at matriculation can be gained from reputable bodies outside the education system that offer courses intended to approximate to matriculation. Like the FSI scales, their estimates of proficiency reached are often validated against practical demands made on the students. Thus, the Institute of Linguists offer their Grade II Certificate as one

> *roughly equivalent to G.C.E. A-level, but with the emphasis on the practical use of language, and proficiency and background knowledge of the country concerned.*
> [Institute of Linguists 1974a:2]

James and Rouve describe the expected performance as

> *command of all 4 skills within the limits of the non-specialist register and certain topics concerning life and institutions in* C_2.
> [James and Rouve 1973:32]

However, as the Institute of Linguists imply, the A-level student's practical facility is somewhat less than this and the written language receives more emphasis than the oral. What practical facility he has (whether in speech or writing) will, in addition, be made more laborious by the adverse effects noted earlier as resulting from translation approaches and premature literary study.

A Schools Council working party has suggested objectives for Sixth Form which include the ability to understand speech at normal speed, to speak the language intelligibly, to read with reasonable ease except on highly specialized topics, and to write freely within the student's own experience [Schools Council 1970:18]. This would suggest a high level of practical facility in the non-specialist register but it is very clear that this level is not reached (and, from what has been said in this chapter so far, that the examinations do not test for it). Carroll [1975] certainly found that U.S. students in their final Secondary School year fall far short of such facility. Wainwright from his experience as an educationalist within industry concludes that the O-level student's proficiency is grossly inadequate:

> *It is an undeniable fact that the average child is at the G.C.E. O-level stage unable to take part in everyday conversation in a foreign language, nor will he or she be able to read, understand and enjoy a newspaper or book in the language.* [Wainwright 1970:191]

Still more seriously, he goes on to imply that matriculants' practical facility is little better.

The Examiners' Reports confirm that such estimates are not unduly severe and leave the impression that tertiary institutions have generally over-estimated their intakes' proficiency levels. Some reports are highly critical referring to "lamentably poor vocabularies" and ignorance of "the most elementary rules ...and... basic constructions" [IV.A.71.30]. Others refer to a "depressing" standard and a "complete waste" of time for many candidates [II.O.72.3] while few reports approve the performance of candidates on the Special papers, supposedly worked only by the best candidates [cf. II.A.72.22; I.S.71.28; IV.S.70.41]. Nevertheless, a very wide range of proficiency emerges with a few very good candidates but also many very poor indeed [cf. II.O.72.3; IV.A.70.30; IV.A.73.31; IX.O.71.27]. The overall standard seems to be fairly low [e.g., IV.A.73.31], particularly in the register required for everyday life in the C_2 [e.g., IX.O.71.27-28], and the most basic need (viz., to be able to use the language in practical, real-life situations to meet practical communication ends) is still far from being attained.

TYPICAL ERRORS AND INADEQUACIES

FORMAL ACCURACY. In perusing the reports, one observes a disturbing tendency on the part of the examiners to condemn the students for "carelessness", for lack of practice [e.g., II.A.72.13], for being "unintelligent" [e.g., II.O.72.8; I.O.71.1], or for apparently wilful inaccuracy as though students care little about their fate despite the importance of the examination. Comments such as the following are typical:

> *...there was little evidence that candidates had used any 'spare' time in the correction of even the most glaring and elementary errors of agreement.* [II.O.72.4]
>
> *The principal enemy is carelessness.* [I.O.73.5]
>
> *'Careless attitude' to spelling, agreements and accents.* [VII.HSC.73.7]
>
> *Perhaps more important, large numbers of [otherwise good] candidates...came crashing down with a zero mark for accuracy because of elementary grammar, spelling mistakes and sheer carelessness.* [IV.A.74.31]

Sometimes examiners seem concerned with surface "cosmetic features" whose neglect does not impair communication even though they are observed by careful native and non-native speakers. However, in the advanced stage, more attention can be paid to formal accuracy if only because failure to use standard forms may disturb native speakers, brand the learner as non-native, and, perhaps, alienate him from educated native speakers as a result of the inevitable social and value judgements made about his language and himself.

Without exception, all examiners complain of inaccuracies in comprehension and production and in oral and written language. Inaccuracies were especially evident when the students were writing in French but this fact in itself suggests that simply to regard those errors as arising from carelessness would be to overlook what may well be more far-reaching problems since, firstly, the errors occur during an examination of very considerable importance to the students when one would expect "care" to be at a maximum and, secondly, if their source were only carelessness, one would expect similar errors when English was being written. Some inaccuracies do seem to occur in the English and, for instance, poor spelling was complained of in English almost as often as in French [e.g., XIII.A.74.47; XVII.L.71.1]. Yet, carelessness alone does not adequately explain the FL spelling errors that occur. Spelling is described as poor [e.g., I.O.71.4; IV.O.70.7; IV.S.70.41; IV.A.71.30; VII.HSC.71.1; XIII.A.70.14] and errors occur in almost every aspect: in use of accents [II.O.72.9; II.A.72.22; VII.HSC.73.3], in common words [I.O.71.4; IV.O.71.9; IV.A.72.32; XIII.A.74.47], and in orthographically different homophones, e.g., *bal* and *balle* [IV.A.72.32], *moi* and *mois* [IV.S.70.41], or *temps* and *tant* [II.O.72.9]. However, the real problem lies deeper, the errors often seeming to reflect ignorance of pronunciation or of sound-spelling relationships, i.e., of the orthographic representation of sounds. Thus, *e*, *é*, and *è* are interchanged as in *prés* for *près*, *mére*, *deja*, *decidé*, *dejeuner* [II.O.72.5 and 9; I.O.71.4]; *s* and *ss* are confused [II.O.72.9]; the effect of an *e* on a preceding *g* or final *s* is not understood [I.O.71.4]; and the occurrence of a single or double letter or of an accent in such verbs as *jeter*, *mener*, *prendre* (where *jetta*, *mene*, or *prennait* occur) seems to be considered quite arbitrary [e.g., IV.S.70.41; XVII.M.73.1]. Where pronunciation is not the source of the problem, it seems either that students depend on rote memory, or they apply their English rule-system (though often this is itself weak [XIII.A.74.47]), or they do not know and cannot apply the sound-spelling system of the FL. Mountford [1975] has shown how even student teachers are often confused over the rules of spelling in their L_1 (including sound-spelling relationships and modifications brought by affixing). Much of the confusion was removed when the rules governing English orthography were shown and it seems probable that, in the advanced stage of FL learning, it would similarly be fruitful for students to be made aware of the basic rules governing the FL spelling system. In this way, the apparently complex problems of spelling could be made more manageable and the students' written language made more acceptable to educated native speakers.

AGREEMENTS: All agreements are a constant source of inaccuracy: subject-verb [II.O.72.4; XIII.O.73.16; XIV.HSC.72.2], adjective-noun [e.g., II.AO.72.13 (*une bon odeur*); XIII.O.74.10; VII.HSC.71.3], pronoun-antecedent [II.O.72.7 (*soeurs...ils*); II.AO.72.13] and reflexive pronoun-subject [II.O.72.7]. All examiners report disregard for genders [II.A.71.9; II.O.71.13; I,O.71.4; I.A.71.26; IV.S.70.41; VII.HSC.71.3; XII.CSYS.72.8; XIII.O.73.16; XVII.M.74.1]. It is easy to consider such errors as superficial, resulting from English interference, carelessness, ignorance of rule or vocabulary, or failure to find the right French equivalents for the English words [cf. XIV.HSC.73]. However, they occur in items that have been taught from the earliest stages of the course and their cause must be sought elsewhere. They seem, in fact, to be symptomatic of a more serious problem, viz., failure to relate the parts of sentences and, at a higher level, to utilize the discourse features to relate parts of the text, or failure to spontaneously bring the redundancies of a language to bear on comprehension and to provide a coherent control in production. Many students, with a mental set engendered by the teaching-learning procedures, still seem to operate on a word-by-word basis trying to comprehend or produce one word at a time by translating into or from English. One examiner commented that in a listening test "many candidates...had been dazzled by recognition of isolated words instead of seeking to absorb the sense of the material" [IV.O.70.9]. A similar absorption with words at the superficial, form level and the concomitant failure to chunk or to relate parts of sentences appropriately can lead to errors in agreement. This seems a more effective explanation than interference from English especially since English also uses agreement systems. It occurs also in the students' inability to group words in oral reading [IV.O.71.11] or to respond readily to the features of discourse and cohesion which mark intra-sentential relationships (as, for example, with pronouns or the sorts of agreements already mentioned) or extra-sentential relationships (such as contribute to discourse) [see pp. 109 -114].

Contributing to this failure to relate and chunk words is the students' limited short-term memory in the FL, which means that they are unable to retain in memory enough of an utterance and the syntactic relationships to be able to mark those relationships appropriately. No other explanation seems possible for the *soeurs... ils* example quoted above, certainly not English interference or ignorance of rules. Often short-term capacity seems not to extend much beyond two words and frequently causes such errors as *Ils nous verrions* [I.A.71.26; cf. IV.A.70.30]. This deficiency also helps to account for the students' inability to handle complex sentences even in reading since coping with such sentences also necessitates retaining in memory the items, chunks and developing relationships until sufficient of the utterance has been decoded for sentence meaning to be deduced [cf. pp. 90 - 91 Complexity; see also Elias and Ingram 1977, Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of this process and the role of attentional capacity, chunking, and short-term memory in it]. Clearly, the expansion of short-term memory is a vital factor in improving language performance whether it be for the superficial end of formal accuracy or for more generalized purposes.

PRONUNCIATION: The accuracy of pronunciation (including both segmental and suprasegmental features) seems not to be very high (though one examiner described it as acceptably intelligible [XII.CSYS.72.10]) and this weakness has its corollaries in the receptive as well as productive language. However, it is tested mainly by dictation and oral reading, which are necessarily invalidated as pronunciation tests by the matriculants' ignorance of sound-spelling relationships noted earlier.

Thus, at least one examiner noted that pronunciation was often better in conversation than in oral reading [e.g., IV.A.73.33; XIV.HSC.72.5] while another observed a striking difference between recitation and oral reading [XVII.L.74.1], results that are not surprising in view of the sound-spelling weakness and also in view of the additional problems intrinsic to reading, e.g., comprehension (necessarily present in production during conversation) is pre-requisite to adequate oral reading but was often lacking [e.g., XIV.HSC.72.3; IV.O.72.12; XVII.L.74.1].

The suprasegmentals generally do not seem to be mastered by this stage. Intonation particularly is weak and often heavily anglicized [e.g., II.O.71.9; II.A.71.6-7; I.A.73.30; IV.O.70.9; IV.A.74.33; XII.CSYS.72.10; XIV.HSC.72.5]. Stress patterns [I.A.73.30; IV.A.74.33] and rhythm [e.g., II.A.68.10] remain anglicized, uneven or hesitant; word grouping (significant in the light of earlier comments on chunking and comprehension) was usually poor [e.g., IV.O.71.11]; and syllabification and liaison were frequently incorrect [e.g., II.A.71.6-9; IV.A.72.32; IV.A.73.33]. These weaknesses also adversely affect the receptive skills: intonation, for instance, provides a further level of redundancy but, for these students, it does not seem to facilitate aural comprehension; inadequacy in stress, syllabification and liaison cause words to be misunderstood (e.g., *alla* is interpreted as *à la* [II.O.72.8]).

Those segmentals which contrast with English persist as difficulties in both comprehension and production. Nasal vowels are particularly weak, being confused in comprehension (especially /ɑ̃/ and /ɔ̃/) [e.g., II.O.72.8; II.AO.72.13; I.O.71.4; IV.O.70.7; IV.O.73.10 and 12] and either not nasalized or not differentiated in production [e.g., II.A.71.7; II.O.71.11; II.A.68.10; IV.O.73.12; XIV.HSC.72.3]. Other vowels seem almost as troublesome, especially those that contrast with English vowels and diphthongs [e.g., XIV.HSC.72.13; II.A.71.7]. Problems frequently cited include the /e/-/ɛ/ discrimination [e.g., II.AO.72.13], /y/ [e.g., II.A.71.7; IV.O.73.11; II.A.68.10], and /o/ [e.g., II.A.71.7; II.A.68.10]. Consonants seem to be less troublesome except for r, especially when final or pre-consonantal [e.g., II.O.71.11; II.A.71.7; IV.O.73.11], and except for the widespread tendency to sound final consonants [II.A.71.7; II.O.71.10; XVII.L.73.1], a fault that occurs in reading and is undoubtedly related to the ignorance of sound-spelling relationships already discussed.

Overall, few matriculation students seem to have mastered the FL phonology. If oral reading performance were accepted as the measure (its function in the examinations despite the inherent problems mentioned above), the standard of pronunciation would have to be considered very low indeed [cf. I.O.73.6; IV.A.72.32; IV.O.73.11; IV.A.74.33; XIV.HSC.72.3].

Where a conversation test is used, faults seem less numerous [e.g.,IV.A.73.33] but, nevertheless, despite some favourable comments [e.g., XVII.L.74.1; XII.O.73.7], most examiners are clearly critical of phonological skills [e.g., II.O.71.9; IV.A.74.33; XIV.HSC.73.3]. The level would seem to be S-1 ("errors...frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners" [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973:1]) rising at times to S-2 ("accent, though often quite faulty, is intelligible" [loc. cit.] and compare "most...have an acceptable degree of intelligibility" [XII.CSYS.72.10]).

There is clearly need for continued attention in the advanced stage to pronunciation, especially to those features that contrast with English, in particular, intonation. However, such teaching will have little effect if it appears as an end in itself without the communicative value of the differentiations being evident. This will emerge only from much experience and use of the language in everyday contexts important and relevant to the learner which give him plenty to talk about (even in the L_1, pronunciation, intonation and fluency break down if one doesn't know what to say), and which provide immediate feedback as to the acceptability of his pronunciation and the success of his communication attempts.

VOCABULARY. Without exception, examiners consider inadequate vocabulary development to be perhaps the major constraint on language performance at this level [e.g., XIV.HSC.73.1; II.A.68.11; IV.A.71.30]. Comments such as the following occur in every report:

> *The majority [of letters], however, bordered on the ridiculous and trivial because they were limited by inadequate vocabulary...* [II.O.72.5]
>
> *...inability to cope with words which must be known to every second-year pupil.* [II.O.72.7]
>
> *Lack of suitable vocabulary to sustain conversation.* [II.A.71.8]
>
> *...almost total ignorance...of vocabulary.* [I.S.71.28]
>
> *Too many showed ignorance of everyday vocabulary and idiom.* [IV.O.70.8]
>
> *...major gaps in elementary vocabulary.* [IV.A.72.30]
>
> *Common vocabulary is surprisingly weak.* [VII.HSC.70.12]
>
> *...surprising ignorance of everyday vocabulary.* [XIII.O.73.16]

Each report lists the main vocabulary problems encountered and it is very clear that the major area of weakness is in the so-called "everyday" vocabulary (i.e., in the registers of home, school, and community life and of the tourist in the C_2), the deficiencies being noted in proses and translation exercises as well as in productive tests such as conversations and essays. This is the vocabulary that should be commonplace in modern textbooks but, on the other hand, the barriers erected by confining foreign language teaching and learning to the classroom prevent the meaningful practice of this vocabulary in real-life, purposeful settings and, because of the type of examination set, the students' main experience over the preceding one or two years will have been of the literary register. However, as Holland [1970] and Russell [1970a] have noted, students do not reveal any compensating strength in literary vocabulary. One examiner commented,

> *Many candidates clearly lacked the vocabulary to characterize human behaviour and attitudes.*
> [IV.A.72.31]

and the later discussion of registers [pp. 133 -143] will reveal a general inability to cope with the literary register. This is not surprising since the students' experience of this register is largely through reading, discussion of the works is in English, and the premature study of literary texts is itself onerous and demotivating; i.e., the learners' motivation to acquire literary vocabulary is slight and the method used is passive.

This thesis emphasizes the need for students to be actively involved in using the language for desired, purposeful ends for language learning to be successful, a condition that does not obtain in the Secondary School student's experience of the language and metalanguage of literature. Furthermore, the largely passive classroom situation in which the learner receives language in listening or reading rather than initiates it in self-expression gives him little practice in the ready recall of vocabulary, fails to integrate his existing concepts with the language, and leaves him groping for words especially when he is using the language under pressure as in an examination and especially in the oral test [cf. II.A.71.8; II.A.68.10; IV.A.73.31]. It is also significant that those students who have been to the C_2 and so have had an opportunity to experience and use "everyday" vocabulary purposefully in a real-life situation reveal fewer deficiencies [cf. II.AO.71.4].

Although one would not want to over-emphasize vocabulary development at the expense of syntax, discourse, and functions, nevertheless, without adequate vocabulary, these other aspects of language cannot be realized in utterances. As Hartmann [1975] observed, vocabulary plays a large part in language proficiency and correlates closely with it. It is clearly essential that advanced language teaching give much consideration to how the learner's vocabulary may be rapidly and effectively expanded especially in those areas (certainly including "everyday" vocabulary) which are relevant to him. Emphasis must fall on integration of the FL and the learner's model of the world and on wide experience including active listening and the use and re-use of the vocabulary in diverse exercises and learner-initiated self-expression [cf. Chapter Six, pp. 609-613].

SYNTAX. By the end of Secondary School, the grammatical framework of the language, at least as outlined in the traditional textbooks, has been taught. However, the

Examiners' Reports show that matriculating students are far from possessing native speaker linguistic competence. Psycholinguistic studies suggest that learners follow a pre-determined schedule in L_2 acquisition whatever the sequencing of the course taught [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 412 - 419] and David Richards of the University of Essex found in his studies of French students of English in Colchester that structures taught out of sequence rapidly disappeared from the learner's language to re-appear spontaneously at the predictable place in the schedule [personal communication, 1975]. Some of the common deficiencies seem to be clearly developmental and they occur in rules that are relatively late acquisitions in L_1 development, e.g., mastery of morphology (especially of verbs [e.g., IV.A.72.30; cf. Slobin 1965]) and of the conditional [e.g., IV.O.70.7; IV.A.70.30; II.A.72.15]. Others are due to interference from English or its model of the world (e.g., the failure to contract partitives or à + articles [e.g., IX.O.71.26] or the use of inappropriate constructions with *depuis* [e.g., VII.HSC.70.14; XII.CSYS.72.8]); and others seem to result from over-generalization (e.g., the excessive use of *avoir* or *être* as auxiliaries [e.g., II.O.72.9; II.A.72.13]). However, the types of test items used in matriculation examinations (especially the "prose") place heavy pressure on the learner and frequently force him to call on his knowledge of English structure to convey ideas. This interference is further encouraged by the translation process by which he has learned and is being tested [cf. Richards 1972:162-166] and gives a distorted picture of his linguistic competence. The conversation test may better avoid interference and provide a better picture of the learner's linguistic development since here the student operates under pressure without time for the conscious manipulation of rules, the test technique itself does not encourage a translation approach, and, being nearer to a real communication situation, the intrusive "examination-answering" factor already discussed is less in evidence (see also the discussion of formal and informal learning in Chapter Four, pp. 363 -366). It also involves processes more closely resembling language skills with the unconscious mobilization of internalized, concept-integrated rules and lexis in response to (and perhaps partly determining) the meaning the student wishes to express.

PROFICIENCY LEVEL: The examiners' criticism of the grammatical competence of the students is little less severe than that of their vocabulary and most cite numerous "errors" even in the most basic constructions [e.g., II.A.72.13; IV.O.70.9; IV.A.72.30; IV.S.74.43; VII.HSC.71.5; IX.A.71.36; XIII.O.72.15; XIV.HSC.72.4]. Except in one report [XIII.A.73.57 but not XIII.S.73.57], the level of grammatical development (in terms of acceptability, morphological accuracy, and structural complexity) was considerably less where the student was initiating the language and using it under pressure as in the conversation than in the prose translation [cf. IV.O.70.9; II.O.71.32; IV.A.70.31; VII.HSC.71.1]. All exercises, but especially the essays and conversation, reveal what one examiner described as "a very alarming, inadequate knowledge of the structure of the language" [II.A.72.13]. Few could be considered to have reached S-2 on the FSI scale ("can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar"), most being little better than S-1 ("errors...in grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his language") [cf. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968:2].

COMPLEXITY: If L_2 learning like L_1 acquisition involves hierarchic development towards greater complexity in both syntax and semantic distinctions [cf. McNeill 1970:32; Chomsky 1969; Kessel 1970], then the language of matriculation students is not very advanced. They are unable to handle complex structures or to use pronouns or subordinating connectives of any sort to diversify the style and give expression precision [cf. IX.O.71.26; II.A.68.9; see also pp. 95 - 99]. Comments such as the following are commonplace:

> *Sentence structure was extremely simple and monotonous. Even the elementary use of pronouns to avoid repetition or relative clauses to combine simple ideas would improve many essays.* [IV.A.70.31]

The inability to handle complex sentences is evident in receptive as well as productive skills and was noted in the oral reading test where fluency suffered on longer sentences.

> *The sense of the long sentences...is not sustained, reflecting the elementary level of appreciation of sentence structure found in conversation.* [II.A.68.10; cf. IV.O.72.12]

VERBS: Little mastery of verbs, their forms, or their functions, is evident. Agreements (verb-subject and past participle-referrent) were rarely marked and this suggests that, to the students, the cohesive devices and the FL system of redundancies carried by the grammatical markers were of little significance. Non-mastery of the morphology of verb-forms was as evident in comprehension (especially aural comprehension) as in production [e.g., II.O.72.4; II.A.72.13; I.A.71.27; IV.O.72.11; IV.A.72.32; VII.HSC.71.7; XIV.HSC.72.4] and examiners frequently comment on students' "sheer indifference to the significance of tenses" [e.g., XIII.A.71.73]. Irregular verbs (usually assimilated into the *-er* conjugation [II.A.68.3-4; II.A.72.13]) reflected the over-generalization that Richards [1972] sees as characteristic of interlanguage. Tenses were universally poor (especially compound forms, the conditional, and *venir de*) though it was sometimes observed that fewer such errors occurred in the prose [e.g., II.O.72.7]. This finding accords with the views expressed earlier about the cryptographic skills used in the prose but it also seems to be related to traditional teaching-learning procedures where FL verb forms are equated with English forms, acquire meaning only through such translation, and do not have their own conceptual referrents. Thus, translation into the FL (provided morphological errors do not occur) may yield the "right answer" but the forms are unlikely to occur without confusion in spontaneous production. In other words, the learner even at this stage has not learned to perceive time, action, state, or process in the FL way, i.e., he has not acquired this component of the FL model of the world or integrated it with his developing FL rule system. This is well reflected in continual misuse of the *depuis* construction where a literal translation of the English Perfect Continuous is frequent [e.g., II.A.72.13; VII.HSC.70.14; XII.CSYS.72.8].

The problem is no less severe in comprehension, students failing to observe tenses or to respond appropriately in either speech or writing [e.g., II.O.71.13; II.A.71.9; I.O.73.6; IV.A.72.32]. Ignorance of the morphology of conjugations is not a sufficient explanation since these forms would have been taught for some years. Four other explanations suggest themselves. First, the learner's attentional capacity is overloaded and he fails to perceive or is unable to utilize the semantic markers in the verb forms [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977;Chapter 3]. This is aggravated, secondly, by his lack of active, meaningful use of the language where the meaning carried by the verb forms has been significant to him. Consequently, he is not pre-biassed to respond readily and appropriately to the tense markers. Thirdly, the efficiency principle operates so that the learner decodes as little as possible to obtain meaning and fails to observe the tense markers. Obsession with discrete word meanings [cf. pp. 46 - 72] makes this more likely especially where the learner is operating under pressure as in examinations or conversation. Fourthly, the learner may transfer English attentional habits to the FL. In English, endings are less significant than in French, those notions carried by morphological change in French often being carried in English in other ways (e.g., by word order). Thus, the student is likely to direct his attention inappropriately and this is aggravated, especially in tests involving question and answer, by the examiner's attempts to reduce the level of redundancy so as to test discrete points. Where the discrete point involves a verb ending, the whole burden of perception and decoding will be thrown unnaturally upon it and the student's incapacity will be unduly highlighted.

The problem with verbs if advanced students are to approach native-like language proficiency is clearly very severe and no simple solution such as more drilling or rote-memorization of conjugations can provide the answer. Nor does it involve verbs alone but includes mastery of the cohesive features of the language, development of the FL model of the world, and its integration with the language. If Van Dijk [1975] is correct, it is probably related also to the development of facility in discourse and, in the oral language, to the development of facility in the intonation and rhythm of the language since these features serve to focus attention on the semantically crucial components of utterances. Activities which assist in the mastery of discourse and cohesion will consequently assist with mastery of verb agreements. Such activities give practice in using language as a whole, shift attention from the word level to the word group, sentence and text levels, discourage word-by-word translation, and exercise and extend immediate memory. No simple solution is possible but there is clearly need for advanced students to have extensive experience (both productive and receptive) of the language in situations where the notional and functional significance of verb forms is evident. Formal exercises which focus specifically on verb forms and the notions and functions they carry may assist this but it is unlikely to occur in the aseptic atmosphere of the classroom where, traditionally, language has been learned as an abstract end in itself.

ARTICLES: Articles, especially partitives, pose continual problems which seem to be increased by interference from English, a factor promoted by the translation approach used in both teaching and testing. Many students seem to fail to discriminate definite and partitive articles [e.g., IV.A.70.31] while partitives were frequently incorrectly used after *beaucoup* [II.O.71.14; I.A.73.30], after negatives [IV.O.73.11], and in their most frequent function to indicate an unspecified quantity [II.O.71.14]. The misuse of articles in complements was also noted [II.O.71.14; IV.S.70.41] and their use with and without the dative of possession to replace the possessive adjective was rare [IX.O.71.27].

PREPOSITIONS: Numerous errors continue to occur with prepositions. Traditionally, French-L_2 teaching has considerably emphasized the correct use of prepositions even where their communicative import is slight (e.g., after some verbs). However, it can be argued that this is both undesirable and ineffective. It is contrary to natural meaning-based learning strategies [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 334 - 337], it tends to drastically inhibit the learner's desire to communicate and, in any case, prepositions remain a major source of error. The difficulties experienced are not surprising, however, since Slobin [1965], Carol Chomsky [1969], and Kessel [1970] found in their studies of L_1 development that the order of acquisition of structures is influenced by their complexity, one measure of which is the number and precision of the semantic and functional discriminations that have to be made. In addition, syntax develops hierarchically [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 413, 421-423 and it is premature to expect students to make many of the distinctions between prepositions before more global structures have been mastered. Nevertheless, by the time students enter the advanced stage, the sentential macrostructures have been acquired and attention to the microstructures, including correct use of prepositions, is appropriate.

Many of the errors that occur have commonly been explained by interference from English. Thus, one observes confusion between prepositions and related conjunctions (e.g., *pendant* and *pendant que* [II.A.72.14], *avant, avant de, avant que* [IV.S.73.42]); the failure to contract *à* or *de* and the following article [II.A.72.14]; the use of inappropriate verb forms, usually present participles, with prepositions [IV.O.70.30; IV.A.72.30]; the use of the wrong preposition or none at all after verbs such as *commencer, entrer, sortir, téléphoner, jouer* [e.g., II.A.71.9; I.O.71.4; IV.S.70.41; IV.A.72.30; IV.O.74.10; VII.HSC.71.4; XIV.HSC.72.4] (though some of these are probably better seen as a misunderstanding of the verb's function and its contextual constraints); and the omission of the preposition after indefinite pronouns (e.g., after *quelque chose* or *rien* [VII.HSC.73.6; VII.HSC.71.4]. Others, such as the false ordering of preposition + pronoun [e.g., IV.A.74.31], are the result of over-generalization.

However, many of these errors are explicable by more generalized deficiencies and it is unlikely that any attempt to treat them at the word level would succeed. Thus, the tendency for students to adopt a word-by-word approach to language use (perhaps as a result of translation-based methods and over-emphasis on word meaning) is reflected in an inability to utilize the features of cohesion and discourse [see pp. 109 - 114]. Similarly, difficulties arise with those prepositions whose function is especially to mark a relationship between words (often one carried by contiguity or sequence in English). The most persistent errors fall into this category and include the misuse or non-use of prepositions after verbs, adjectives, and indefinite pronouns [e.g., VII.HSC.71.4; VII.HSC.73.6] or in distinguishing *C'est + adjective + à + infinitive* from *Il est + adjective + de + infinitive*.

Complexity of operation constrains language performance and one measure of it is the number and nicety of the functional or semantic discriminations that have to be made [cf. Chomsky 1969 and Kessel 1970]. This helps to explain the problems that occur with *à, dans* and *en* [e.g., II.O.71.14; XIII.O.74.10] where habitual discriminations not made in English are made between the name of a town and the name of an object and where the specificity of the "inness" and the focus of interest are important, e.g., in distinguishing *à la maison* and *dans la maison*. It also explains the problems experienced with *pour, pendant* and *depuis* [e.g., XII.CSYS.72.8] where aspect as well as time duration is important. Similar problems result from obsession with word-meaning (generally gained by equating L_1 and FL words) to the exclusion of word function or categorial and contextual features and are exemplified in the confusion of prepositions and conjunctions, in the misuse of prepositions after verbs, and in differentiating *Il est + adjective + de* (e.g., *Il est difficile de faire cela*) and *C'est + adjective + à* (e.g., *C'est difficile à faire*). The last difficulties arise because the different functions of the structures are not perceived and the role of the preposition related to them.

The last example also illustrates the students' failure to utilize the markers in the sentence that relate the various parts, that is, essentially, to recognize the signalled deep structure relationships and to recognize the force of *il, ce,* à and *de* in signalling them. The fact that these relationships are signalled by several redundant features (the pronouns, prepositions, word meanings, and context) illustrates again the failure of the students to utilize the redundancies either in comprehension or in providing cohesive constraints on production. This is also observed in the problems experienced with *depuis, pendant* and *pour* where, for example, the time perspective and verb tense provide additional levels of redundancy. Failure to mark the different time perspectives also illustrates the importance of the learner's developing a model of the world conformable to that of the native speaker if such discriminations are to be made. He must perceive and segment reality according to the native speaker's model of the world and be pre-biassed to respond appropriately to a situation if, for instance, he is to discriminate and use fluently such prepositions as *à* and *de* after *jouer* [I.O.71.4] or *en, à, par* where English uses *by* for means of travel [XIII.O.74.10].

The difficulties that matriculation students experience with prepositions cannot be explained only at the lexical level but involve issues of cohesion and conceptual structure which must be taken into account in advanced language teaching.

PRONOUNS: Pronouns have an important cohesive function in utterances and, since cohesion is poorly mastered, it is not surprising that matriculants reveal little facility in the use of pronouns in comprehension or production. Many students seem totally confused by pronouns, are unable to differentiate their various functions and forms or to match function and form. Only subject personal pronouns seem to be adequately mastered [cf. IV.O.74.10] while disjunctive and object pronouns are frequently confused in form, position and function [e.g., II.O.71.14; II.A.72.13; I.O.73.5; IV.A.72.30], as are direct and indirect object pronouns [e.g., XIV.HSC.73.2; VII.HSC.70.17]. Demonstrative pronouns [VII.HSC.72.12; XII.CSYS.72.8; II.O.72.5; I.O.73.5], *lequel*, *ce qui* and its forms [XIV.HSC.73.2; VII.HSC.72.62], *on* [IV.O.71.10], and *en* [XIII.A.70.72; IV.A.74.31; VII.HSC.72.62; I.O.73.5] show very little mastery and little system in their use.

In comprehension, the relationships pronouns signal are often misinterpreted (e.g., *la fit entrer, she entered; pour vous permettre, you are permitted* [I.O.71.1; I.A.71.26]), while, in production, they are either not used [e.g., I.O.73.5; IV.O.70.7; XIII.O.74.11; IV.A.70.31] or there are errors in their forms, position, or agreement [e.g., II.O.72.7; II.A.72.13; I.O.73.5; IV.O.71.9; IV.A.72.32; VII.HSC.71.7; XIV.HSC.73.2]. Failure to perceive and utilize the endophoric and exophoric functions of pronouns reflects a word-by-word approach to language use and leads to such conversational exchanges as:

> *Est-ce que votre soeur...? Oui, ma soeur...*
> [XIII.O.74.11]

This is further illustrated in failure to observe pronominal agreement rules, while the non-agreement of possessive adjectives and antecedents confirms that the problem involves more than English interference [e.g., II.O.72.7]. Other examples include failure to appreciate or use the force of the reflexive pronoun (e.g., to distinguish *arrêter, s'arrêter; apercevoir, s'apercevoir* [II.O.72.4; IV.O.73.10; VII.HSC.72.9]), failure, already seen in discussing sentence complexity, to use pronouns or relative pronouns to "save wearisome repetition of nouns or phrases" [IV.O.70.7] or to combine sentences into more complex utterances [e.g., IX.O.71.26; IV.A.70.31]. Undoubtedly, it contributes to the confusion between *il est* and *c'est* that most students experience [e.g., IV.A.71.30; IV.O.72.12; VII.HSC.70.17; XIV.HSC.73.2].

Interference from English, encouraged by the translation approach to language teaching, probably accounts for some of the difficulties with pronouns, e.g., the omission of the relative pronoun [e.g., IV.A.71.30], placing object pronouns after the verb [e.g., II.A.72.13; VII.HSC.70.17; XIII.A.70.72; XIV.HSC.73.2], the misuse or mis-translation of *on* [e.g., IV.O.71.10], the use of *l'un* or *l'une* for *celui* or *celle* [VII.HSC.72.12; XII.CSYS.72.8; II.O.72.5; I.O.73.5], and inability to cope with impersonal expressions (e.g., *il lui vint l'idée*) [IV.O.72.12; VII.HSC.71.2].

However, the examples given in the preceding paragraphs show that it is not enough to attribute all the errors to interference or carelessness. It is worth noting that Carol Chomsky [1969] and Kessel [1970] concluded that pronominalization was a basic principle of language whose acquisition, though relatively late at age 5.6 in comparison with acquisition of the broad syntactic framework of the language, was mainly dependent on cognitive maturation [cf. Chomsky

1969:109-110]. Matriculation students clearly do have sufficient cognitive maturation to cope with the principle of pronominalization but mastery of the forms involved, the syntactic and morphological realization of the principle of pronominalization, may well depend on prior mastery of other aspects of the language and of language use, in particular on realization of the principles governing cohesion in the language. In addition, the use of pronominalization clearly also depends on the expansion of short-term memory capacity. Other errors seem to result from the teaching-learning process in which the French pronoun system is learned as if it is a distorted (and, hence, unsystematic) version of the English system. Since many students nowadays have, at best, a fragile formal knowledge of English grammar, an approach that compares the FL with English must be even more confusing. In addition, the traditional decontextualized, sentence-based approach to language teaching reduces the student's experience of pronominalization giving him less, meaningful and purposeful practice with the system and preventing his experiencing its endophoric and exophoric functions. It also means that he will fail to experience certain of the functions that pronouns significantly carry, such as depersonalization and the expression of diminished responsibility (e.g., *il lui vint l'idée* [IV.O.72.12; VII.HSC.71.2]).

MODIFICATION: Adverbials and adjectivals caused many difficulties. Some of the errors seemed to result from ignorance of lexical items perhaps reinforced by interference from the English of the translation exercise (e.g., the use of *si* [IV.A.72.32; XIV.HSC.73.2] or *très* with *beaucoup* [XIV.HSC.73.2], failure to discriminate *tel* and *si* [XIV.HSC.73.2], and the non-use of *ne...que* [IX.O.71.27; I.A.73.27] or *ne...plus que* [II.A.72.15]). In other cases, the relevant grammatical rule was apparently not available (e.g., the placement of negatives [II.O.72.9]) or adjective agreements caused problems [VII.HSC.70.17] as a result of the factors discussed earlier [pp. 79 - 81]. However, one would overlook a number of issues significant to the language teacher if these errors were considered only at a superficial level.

Rather, the basic inadequacy seems to lie in mastery of the linguistic function of modification and what Halliday [1974:17;1969] terms the personal, interactional, and imaginative functions of language. In other words, the deficiencies noted in the use of adverbials and adjectivals seem to be one manifestation of the student's inability to use language for the precise expression of personal ideas, attitudes, and feelings. That is, matriculation students seem to lack a personal function in the FL [cf. Russell 1970a, Holland 1970]. They have not acquired the ability to modify and qualify what is said, to balance ideas against each other, to refine what they say, or, in Bernstein's terms, to use "the formal possibilities for sentence organization...to clarify meaning and make it explicit" [Bernstein 1961:95].

It is interesting here to observe that the Examiners' Reports yield a description of the FL of matriculation students reminiscent of Bernstein's "restricted code": grammatically simple, poor syntactic form, little use of connectives other than simple co-ordinating conjunctions, little use of subordinating clauses, and limited use of adjectives and adverbs [cf. Bernstein 1961:94]. One would hesitate to take the analogy too far or to imply unquestioning approval of Bernstein's 1961 views. However, the resemblance is interesting, first, because of the contrast between the learning environments of the working-class L_1 learner and the FL student and, second, because of the similarity of the results in terms of social acceptability. The working-class L_1 learner, according to Bernstein, acquires a largely context-dependent language deficient in certain language functions [cf. Halliday 1974:23; Wight 1969]. The FL student learns the language in an environment (viz., the FL classroom) that is so restricted as to have few direct relationships with the language that occurs within it, giving few opportunities for purposeful use, and, hence, if the language is learned, it should be largely context-free and probably also deficient in certain functions [cf. pp.143 -151].

It is interesting to observe how, from different starting-points and following largely different paths, different learners have arrived at similar points. It raises an important issue, however, which prompts doubts over the nature of the working-class child's "disadvantagement" and suggests a criterion for FL proficiency. Though structural simplicity, as in the preceding description of the FL (and of Bernstein's "restricted code"), need not necessarily itself affect personal expressiveness, the relationship of the restricted-elaborated dichotomy to educational success in middle-class schools suggests that it does not match the conventionalized middle-class norm for expressive language. If the FL learner's language is to be a viable means of communication, one whose syntactic and semantic characteristics will not alienate the learner from native speakers, and one which is acceptable in the sophisticated contexts in which a tertiary graduate will wish to use his language, the advanced student will need to acquire facility in the various devices of modification, subordination and co-ordination which characterize the middle-class norm of expressive language.

Furthermore, one of the deficiencies already noted was inability to characterize human behaviour and emotions [IV.A.72.31] and examiners frequently complain of the superficiality of students' responses in situations (e.g., conversation, essays) where opportunities for self-expression are given. In addition, in Chapter One, pp. 16-20, reference was made to Russell's [1970a] suggestion that the general, abstract and personalized language was not mastered at least until A-level [cf. also Holland 1970]. Although the criticism made of these views remains valid, the deficiencies in the language of matriculating students discussed here suggest some validity in what Holland and Russell say and it seems probable that, for learners who have acquired language in the aseptic and depersonalized environment of the FL classroom, Russell's stages would be valid. Furthermore, modification strategies are essential if the imaginative function of language is to exist and be manifested in linguistic forms. This function seems to be missing in the language of matriculation students and examiners continually complain of the triviality of the content of their language [e.g., IV.A.71.30; XIII.S.74.47; II.O.72.5-6; I.O.71.2].

It seems, then, that the difficulties that matriculation students experience with adverbials and adjectivals is only one part of a wider and more fundamental problem, viz., failure to acquire the FL as a personalized language and to develop facility in its personal, interactional, and imaginative functions. As noted in Chapter One, pp. 16-20, and in studies by Nelson [1973] and Halliday [1975], these functions are not necessarily late developments and this is confirmed by observation of young children who use language from the earliest stages in order to create their own imaginary world. Matriculants' difficulties seem, rather, to result from the type of language teaching that has traditionally taken place and students, at least at the advanced level, require experience in using the FL in personal interaction and self-expression for purposes that are of fundamental importance to them. It is also important if FL teaching is to be seen as a means of personality development and attitude change in a direction appropriate to a multicultural society [see Chapter Five] since language is the medium for interaction between man and society and this interaction produces personality development:

> *...the formation of the personality is itself a social process, or a complex of social processes, and language - by virtue of its social functions - plays the key part in it.* [Halliday 1974:11]

In a multicultural society, interaction with other cultural and linguistic groups can effect desirable personality change, with the FL being used to facilitate it. However, such interaction requires the personal, interactional, and imaginative functions and will, in turn, stimulate their development more effectively than formal conversation in a depersonalized classroom where the focus falls on words and rules rather than on people and expression.

SYNTACTIC NEEDS: SUMMARY: The preceding discussion of aspects of syntax highlights an issue of general applicability to language teaching at this level. Even though one can observe that the errors are, in fact, realizations of inadequacies in handling cohesion, discourse, or language functions, it would be a mistake to neglect the components of language, especially lexis and syntax. One cannot speak without words or combine words without syntax while cohesion, discourse, functions, or utterances are realized by selecting from a repertoire of rules and lexis. Without that repertoire, utterances are not possible; without language items and mastery of the system by which they can be combined, language in use cannot exist. Nevertheless, transferring the focus of teaching and learning to how language is used and to cohesion, discourse, and functions, has much value at the advanced level. By matriculation, students have been taught and retaught the items and rules with which they continue to have so much trouble. Thus one examiner stated:

> *...the errors candidates fail by are of the kind which would fail a first year pupil in any meaningful end of year test.* [XVII.L.74.2; cf. VII.HSC.72.12]

However, by this stage, students feel that they have gone over such rules numerous times and it is demotivating to continue to do so. In any case, unless the functional value of the items and rules is evident, the learner will not be motivated to acquire them. The shift in focus from the components to their use achieves this; it removes the capriciousness from the FL system, gives it some communicative purpose, and sets the rules within a total, coherent system. It is highly unlikely that greater control over the language the learner experiences and produces or constraints on his self-expression will effect favourable changes even though they are solutions that examiners frequently suggest [e.g., XVII.L.74.2]. These issues will be further discussed in Chapters Four and Six.

COHESION, DISCOURSE AND THOUGHT SEQUENCE. We have already seen [pp. 79-81 and 87-107] that matriculation students have considerable difficulty with those linguistic features which mark cohesion relations within sentences or enable structurally simple sentences to be combined into more complex utterances in which differing ideas are co-ordinated, subordinated, or superordinated to each other. Similar problems emerge at the inter-sentence or textual level in those features that mark relationships between sentences, combine sentences into more complex utterances, mark the thread of discourse, and promote textual cohesion. The traditional sentence-orientation of language teaching means, in fact, that students will have little experience of inter-sentence linkers.

Mastery of discourse involves mastery of the rhetorical features which map thought sequence and indicate the relationships involved and, even more fundamentally, the ability to arrange and sequence ideas in a way characteristic of the FL. According to Kaplan [1966, 1972] the thought sequence is culture-specific. Thus, it is related to the speaker's characteristic model of the world since the thought sequence will at least partly result from one's perception of the world and the relationships seen in it, as Kelly's contrastive studies of the cognitive structures of speakers of Melpa and English suggest [Kelly 1973, 1974]. Further, being able to use the appropriate thought development through a text relates closely to the ability to think in the FL since using the appropriate thought sequence implies thinking like a native speaker [see Chapter Four, pp. 426-431].

The Examiners' Reports reveal that few students at this level are able to plan their essays acceptably in the FL. Such comments as the following are typical:

> *The basic idea of an essay escapes quite a few candidates. It is not just a haphazard garnering of thoughts...* [II.A.72.14]
>
> *The essays rarely conveyed a sense of shape or progression.* [IV.A.70.31]
>
> *...sometimes little more than lists of words strung together...* [XIII.O.74.11]

It is significant, however, that in one of the few reports that commented favourably on students' written production, a "Written Reproduction" exercise replaced the essay, thus removing the necessity to produce ideas or to sequence them appropriately whereas the alternative essay elicited performance just as poor as noted elsewhere [XIII.O.74.10-11]. The précis, however, which requires selection of the important ideas, seems to be poorly done or to suggest inadequate comprehension [e.g., II.AO.74.12; XVII.M.74.1; XVII.M.70.1].

Throughout the Reports, reference is made to students' inability to handle the various linkers which mark thought sequence and discourse structure [e.g., IV.S.72.40; IV.A.72.32; IV.O.74.9; XIV.HSC.73.1]. Some such features have already been considered (pronouns, agreement markers, subordinating conjunctions, and relative pronouns, for example) and students seem unable to capitalize on them to combine simple into more complex sentences to give precision to the expression of ideas, variety to their style, or coherence to their essays [e.g., IV.A.70.31; IV.O.72.10; VII.HSC.72.12; IX.O.71.26]. At the textual level, failure to use these features destroys the cohesion of the essay, the development of the thought, and the coherence of the ideas [cf. XIII.S.73.57; II.A.68.4].

Inter-sentence linkers such as *aussi, donc* and *car* were frequently misunderstood and, as one report commented, arguments were, therefore, falsified [II.O.72.3; cf. XIV.HSC.72.4; XIV.HSC.73.1;

I.A.73.28]. Holland [1970] has also noted the weakness of First Year university students in sentence linkers and Kenning reported at the BAAL Testing Workshop (University of Southampton, March 24-26th, 1975) that she found that First Year students of French at the University of East Anglia were unable to follow the arguments in their History texts because they were unable to cope with the connectives. However, it is significant that the problem is probably not that they do not know the "meanings" of the conjunctions, at least in the sense of being able to give an English equivalent, since Kenning found that if they were asked to underline the unknown words in a text they never underlined conjunctions. Rather, the function of the conjunctions and other markers seems not to be appreciated; the learner seems not to be pre-biassed to respond quickly, not just with an English equivalent but by performing the relevant mental balancing of ideas, i.e., adjusting the nature of the ideas he is assimilating according to the relationships between them indicated by the discourse markers. Clearly, this also requires the ability to retain enough of the preceding text in short-term memory for this operation to take place. It also entails the postulation, on the basis of the discourse markers, of subsequent meaning alternatives both to facilitate decoding and to enable the subsequent establishment of ideational relationships in the way just discussed [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2, Part B; Chapter 3]. This forward projection of meaning at the same time as preceding meaning and words are kept in short-term memory is essential for fluent oral reading but, significantly, in reading longer sentences aloud, students tend to lose fluency and meaningfulness:

> *The sense of the long sentences in the passages set for* [*oral*] *reading is not sustained, reflecting the elementary level of appreciation of sentence structure found in conversation.* [II.A.68.10]

The errors that occurred in the translation passages II.A.68.14-15 (reprinted in Appendix 2) well exemplify this discussion. The problems in decoding and translating *le premier en tout* would have been minimal if the context had been utilized and if the value of *ce faisant* and *car*, for example, had been appreciated and brought to bear on the co-text. Similarly, the failure to cope with *insolites* reflects inability to utilize the thought development since it is explained in the rest of the paragraph. Significantly, problems occur in Passage 2 both with linkers such as *toutefois* and *désormais* and at points which appreciation of the force of the cohesive features would have explicated. Thus, *se laisser griser* would have posed little difficulty if its relationship with *les routes nationales...généralement bien aménagées* had been appreciated. It is noteworthy, too, that this relationship is strengthened by the use of *y*, an item with considerable cohesive force but one which matriculation students generally handle badly [cf. II.O.72.9]. Again, *tout aussi dangereux* posed difficulties despite the English cognate, difficulties undoubtedly aggravated by failure to perceive and utilize the relationship expressed between these words and their co-text.

The failure to utilize the context is frequently deplored by examiners [e.g., VII.HSC.71.2; XIII.O.74.11; XIV.HSC.73.1] who often refer to an inability to guess sensibly. It is more than a question of guessing ability, however, since decoding necessitates relating each part of an utterance or text to the rest of the text and to the reader's or listener's model of the world. In order to improve comprehension and production, students entering the advanced stage require specific attention to improving their facility with discourse features and their ability to structure their thoughts in a way conformable with FL patterns.

REDUNDANCY. Reference has been made several times to the inability of students to utilize the redundancy of language to assist in comprehension or to give cohesion and coherence to the language produced. In production, it was observed in the lack of attention to agreements [e.g., II.A.68.11; I.A.71.26], in failure to use discourse features [e.g., II.A.68.5 and 11], and in frequent inconsistency in tenses [e.g., I.A.71.26]; i.e., in production, the redundant syntactic markers were not provided or, as where the verb was made to agree with an object (e.g., *Ils nous verrions* [I.A.71.26]), memory limitations seemed to intrude to provide a false redundancy. In comprehension, as the discussion on pp. 113 - 114, illustrates, the context and model of the world were not brought to bear to facilitate decoding. Thus, in one dictation, *à la* was confused with *alla* [II.O.72.8] while, in another, *venez donc mangez* was frequent for *venez donc manger* [II.AO.72.13] although in both examples the suprasegmental features should readily eliminate one alternative. In another case, *allongeait* replaced *allongé* [II.AO.72.13] despite the support of both pronunciation and structural context to elucidate the choice. Examiners frequently observe students' apparent inability to "guess intelligently", i.e., to use the redundancies of a text to facilitate comprehension [cf. IV.O.72.10; XIII.O.73.16; XVII.L.74.1]. Significantly, however, in one aural comprehension test where there was a strong storyline, performance was somewhat better [XII.O.73.2]. This suggests students were able to bring the redundancy provided by the sequential action to bear on the comprehension task better than where the main redundancy was provided by the grammar or by a thought sequence perhaps more culture-specific.

MODEL OF THE WORLD. Using the FL thought sequence has been seen to entail being able to think like the native speaker of the FL and, hence, to see the world as the native speaker sees it. The importance of the learner's developing the model of the world (M.O.W.) conformable to the FL has been argued at length elsewhere [Elias and Ingram 1977; Ingram and Elias 1974; and see Chapter Four, pp. 426 -431]. It is clear from the Examiners' Reports that few students at matriculation level have developed the relevant M.O.W. but, rather, they seem to continue to operate as English speakers, merely translating word by word at a superficial level. This is particularly evident in the essays and examiners frequently complain that "most of [the] errors arose from the basic fault of the essays being thought out in English" [II.O.72.4] or that

> *the compositions were word-for-word translations of sentences or phrases thought out by the candidate in English...[and leading] to anglicisms of the worst type e.g.,* il était attendant pour moi... [VII.HSC.69.10; cf. I.O.73.5; XIV.HSC.72.2]

Another examiner observed the very poor performance of candidates when a comprehension question entailed an elementary problem-solving task, viz., working out what day *après-demain matin* would be starting from *vendredi* [XIV.HSC.72.1].

Thinking or problem-solving (reasoning) in the FL entails either the ready, even automatic, expression in the FL of ideas or, when reasoning involves the manipulation of verbal symbols, it entails holding a concept in mind while manipulating and re-arranging it with others. The latter was seen to be beyond many matriculation students when we considered oral reading, discourse, and cohesion [pp. 81 -84 ,109 -114]. The former requires much active language practice especially where the learner is initiating language or responding to it under pressure. It is not surprising, therefore, granted the student's passive role in the traditional classroom and the preponderance of the translation approach to teaching and testing, that he fails to develop ability to think in the FL by matriculation.

However, if thinking involves the manipulation of concepts and if (as Piaget and Bruner suggest [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2]) this requires the use of verbal symbols for reasoning of any complexity, then the FL and the conceptual structure must match; i.e., the successful language learner must also acquire the M.O.W. characteristic of the FL speaker. We have already seen evidence (e.g., in discussing *depuis* and the use of tenses [pp. 91 - 94]) that this is not the case for the matriculation student. Elsewhere, confusion between *savoir* and *connaître* [II.O.72.5] can be seen as failure to differentiate aspects of "knowing" in a French M.O.W. Similar perceptual and conceptual disparities make it difficult for students to find appropriate FL words to differentiate the global English concept, "leaving" [II.O.72.7]. Picture interpretation shows the effect of an inappropriate M.O.W. since it removes the complicating linguistic factors. One examiner reported that students failed to recognize the pictured Eiffel Tower as being in Paris [II.O.72.4]; i.e., their M.O.W. lacked that matrix of denotative and connotative meanings, of factual knowledge, and of experiential and affective associations that go with the verbal or visual symbol of "La Tour Eiffel". The same examiner commented on the unexpected interpretations students made of pictures [II.O.72.4] but "correct" interpretation is heavily dependent on the viewer's M.O.W.'s matching that of the artist (i.e., that subsumed by the picture) and there is much evidence that people of different cultural backgrounds (i.e., with different M.O.W.'s) interpret pictures differently [cf. Farnham-Diggory 1972:468-470; Dart and Pradhan 1967:653; Mundy-Castle 1966; Hudson 1967; and Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 5]. James and Rouve in analysing O- and A-level examinations give special attention to this problem and note:

> *It would appear that in interpreting the meaning of a picture social, regional, cultural and aesthetic factors all play an important part and must affect any linguistic response.* [James and Rouve 1973:11]

One aspect of the M.O.W. entails knowledge of the way of life, culture and civilisation of the FL people. However, such understanding is not evident at matriculation. One report commented on "a substantial knowledge of contemporary French life" [I.A.73.27] and another noted that, where audio and visual aids had been extensively used to bring the FL culture and civilisation into the classroom and integrate it with language learning, the problem seemed less acute [VII.HSC.71.11]. However, all the others were highly critical, speaking of "a particularly disappointing standard" [II.A.68.8], "the last refuge of despairing ignorance" [II.A.72.15], "superficiality, imprecision and stereotyped responses" [VII.HSC.69.16], and inadequate knowledge of French life and institutions [III.Grade II.74.2; II.AO.71.3]. Doubtless, this inadequacy is the product of sentence-oriented teaching that has isolated culture and civilisation from language learning and has given little consideration to the relevance of conceptual structure to language functioning. Too often, the only teaching of culture and civilisation that takes place is the premature incursion into literature (which surely grows out of, utilizes, and, therefore, presupposes the parameters of a society) or the rote memorizing of facts, a superficial approach which is evident in the students' answers and is deplored in the reports [e.g., II.A.68.8; VII.HSC.69.16].

MACROSKILLS. From what has been said so far, it would seem unlikely that a very high level of proficiency would be observable in the four macroskills.

LISTENING: Comprehension skills (both listening and reading) seem somewhat in advance of productive skills. However, listening comprehension receives relatively slight attention at matriculation. Harding [1975] shows that only one British examining board tests it other than through dictation which is also used by most Australian States despite complicating factors that confuse the picture of aural proficiency given. Most examiners seem fairly satisfied with the results on the various aural tests [e.g., II.O.72.8; IV.O.73.10; XIII.O.70.14] but often their comments are themselves ambiguous or critical:

> *...this paper presented no trouble to the candidate who had been properly prepared and had been given adequate oral practice...*
>
> *But the majority of them were not so good.* [IV.O.72.8]
>
> *The Aural Comprehension proved to be the hardest part of the paper....* [XII.O.72.1]

Comments on aural comprehension in the conversation test (where one is held) are rare but, where they do occur, they tend to be quite favourable [e.g., II.A.71.8]. This suggests that aural comprehension as measured in the conversation test is adequate whereas, elsewhere, results are confused by extraneous factors, e.g., inability to write acceptable French [IX.O.71.28; XIII.O.70.14] or inaccuracy in the written language [XIII.O.72.15]. The inadequacies observed have already been noted, especially vocabulary deficiencies, recognition of verb endings [e.g., IV.O.72.11; IV.A.74.33-34], inability to use the text to extrapolate meaning [e.g., XII.O.72.1], and word-by-word decoding which fails to integrate word sequences or to relate parts of the text [e.g., IV.O.74.10; XIII.O.74.11].

READING: The major weakness in reading comprehension seems to be students' inability to gain more than superficial meaning or to perceive any implied or assumed meaning [cf. I.A.71.26-7; IV.O.70.9; VII.HSC.69.2; XIII.O.72.15]. This is to be expected from the deficiencies already noted, especially word-by-word decoding, failure to chunk, failure to relate parts of utterances and texts, inability to utilize redundancy, limited short-term memory, inability to handle syntactically complex material, and restricted development of a relevant model of the world. Comments such as the following are typical:

> *The least satisfactory element of the paper was the comprehension test...all scored a few marks without convincing the examiners that they had understood the basic themes.* [IV.O.70.7]

General assessments of reading proficiency vary widely from "very good" [VII.HSC.71.1] to "pretty poor" [XIV.HSC.72.1] and "very weak" [IV.O.73.11]. We have already seen that oral reading is poor and that inadequate reading comprehension was one cause [pp. 81 - 84 , 90 - 91]. However, since the main test of reading comprehension is translation into English, many other factors enter to invalidate the assessment and confuse the picture of reading proficiency given. Elsewhere, written production skills vitiate the assessment [II.O.72.8-9].

Nevertheless, it is clear that the reading proficiency of matriculation students is not high [cf. also pp. 87 – 109, 116-119]. They do not read with the speed or fluency that they read in the L_1, they lack the confidence to let go of the individual word to seek textual meaning, and their "reading" is laborious and unsuccessful in terms of both meaning and pleasure [cf. Jones 1975; Munby and Brumfit 1975]. "Reading" is different from "deciphering" or translation and few matriculation students seem to "read" since comprehension is slow (hence the problems in oral reading) and superficial; it breaks down when syntactic complexity occurs, and, in texts extending beyond two or three sentences, memory limitations and inability to utilize discourse features become serious. Many of the problems result from translating and Hill [1972:72], commenting on his course for First Year students at the University of Kent, noted that the main need was to wean students away from translation and to develop in them the ability to read fluently and to read non-literary materials.

In brief, reading proficiency seems to be better than R-1 on the FSI scale (where the learner can read little more than isolated names and signs) but rarely above R-2 ("able to read simple prose...on subjects within a familiar context") [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968:2-3] while it falls between "Elementary Proficiency" and "Working Knowledge" on Stern's [1974] scale. Matriculation students are unlikely to read more complex texts with ease or much understanding and one must doubt whether, for instance, literature is yet within their scope. Certainly, few matriculants can cope with it [see pp. 138-143].

SPEAKING: The results of the oral production tests (generally a conversation either impromptu or on prepared topics) reflect the changes, or lack of them, in teaching practice. There are frequent comments that oral proficiency is improving [e.g., II.A.68.9; IV.A.71.31; IV.O.73.10; XIII.O.70.14; XIV.HSC.72.3] but equally frequent comments that it seems to receive insufficient attention [e.g., II.A and O.71.3; II.A.68.9; IV.A.74.33-34; XII.CSYS.73.11; XIII.O.73.17]. It was observed earlier [pp. 87-89] that the oral test provides a better indication of the learner's linguistic competence than the written test since pressure to respond rapidly prevents the language exercise becoming a test of cryptographic skills. In addition, of all the matriculation test types, it probably comes nearest to demanding realistic language use in a situation where communicative competence can be assessed.

The errors we have been noting seem particularly obvious in the speaking test. (The exception is pronunciation, which is weaker in oral reading where reading comprehension and knowledge of sound-spelling relationships are also involved.) Deficient vocabulary [e.g., I.A.73.30; IV.O.71.11; XII.CSYS.72.10; XIII.O.73.17; IV.A.74.33-34], especially in "everyday" contexts [e.g., XIII.O.72.16; II.A and O.71.3], and numerous grammatical inaccuracies [e.g., I.A.73.30; IV.O.70.9; IV.O.73.10; XVII.L.73.1] occur frequently. Agreements in number and gender [e.g., XIII.O.70.14; IV.O.72.12] are common, probably for the reasons discussed earlier [pp. 76 - 81]. Verb forms seem particularly weak, students failing to respond appropriately to the tense of the examiner's questions [e.g., I.O.73.6; IV.O.72.11; IV.O.74.9] (i.e., they fail to observe tense ending, ascribe appropriate meaning, match their answer to the question, or select the appropriate form to convey the meaning they desire). Even where they initiate the use of a particular tense (as in oral composition and conversation), verb forms are frequently incorrect [cf. XII.O.72.6; XIV.HSC.72.5; IV.O.72.12]. At this level, students still clearly require much more experience in the meaningful and spontaneous use of verbs in both comprehension and production for endings to become practically significant and for students to acquire facility in using them.

As was noted earlier, matriculation students seem to have little power of self-expression in the FL [e.g., XII.CSYS.73.11], to be unable to express judgements and opinions [e.g., IV.A.71.31; II.A.71.8], and often to be unwilling to speak at all [e.g., IV.A.74.33-34]. Probably the restricted classroom learning situation with its passivity and narrow register range contributes to this. In addition, the conversation test makes the deficiencies in certain language functions especially evident. Thus, how to express judgement and opinion is not mastered and, in particular, students seem unable to take a positive role in conversation or to initiate exchanges. This may be caused by nervousness or apprehension in using the language yet it also matches what one would expect from the largely passive classroom role where the learner responds to the teacher's questions and rarely initiates an exchange. Whatever the cause, students seem unable to initiate or sustain a conversation [e.g., II.A.69.9; IV.A.74.33-34 but not XVII.L.74.1]. As one examiner put it:

> *One hopes for conversation and is too often reduced to interrogation.* [IV.A.73.33]

Although one examiner commented favourably on the content and range of topics of the conversation [I.A.71.27], in general content was described as slight, trivial, or restricted to set texts [cf. IV.A.71.31; IV.A.70.32; II.A and O.71.3], a clear reflection of the limitations of the usual classroom "conversations". In fact, examiners frequently commented on students' apparent lack of practice in conversation [e.g., II.A and O.71.3; II.A.71.8; IV.A.74.34; XII.CSYS.73.11] although those who had had frequent practice and, in particular, had had active experience of the language in visits to the C_2 or with *assistants* showed readier use of a wider vocabulary, increased fluency, and a greater variety of topics [e.g., II.A and O.71.4; IV.O.72.10; IV.O.74.9]. Nevertheless, one examiner expressed surprise that "so few candidates can find anything to say about texts they have read or their experience of visits to France" [IV.A.70.32].

It is difficult to make an overall assessment of oral proficiency at matriculation since students differ widely from "pathetic" to "outstanding" [XII.O.73.7] or from "inability to utter anything more than monosyllables", to "a fluency similar to that of a native speaker" [XII.CSYS.72.10; cf. IV.A.72.32; I.A.73.30]. In addition, the descriptions tend to be vague and subjective, and to use terms such as "just adequate" [I.O.73.6], "mediocre" [IV.O.73.12], and little better than 0-level [II.A and O.71.3]. Many comments are highly critical and suggest that a large proportion of students are unable to converse with any degree of fluency and accuracy, with any sophistication of content or ideas, or with anything more than monosyllables or the simplest of sentences [e.g., II.A.71.7; II.O.71.12;

II.A.69.9; IV.A.70.32; IV.O.72.10; IV.A.74.33-34; XII.CSYS.72.10; XVII.L.73.1]. Nevertheless, there are some favourable comments [e.g., II.A.71.8; IV.O.71.11] and the occasional very favourable one:

> *...the majority of candidates were forthcoming in their responses and achieved a creditable level of oral competence.* [II.A.71.3]
>
> *Some of the Advanced level candidates were very good, very fluent, and made interesting conversation.* [I.A.71.27]

Overall, the impression is left that standards of oral proficiency are rising, especially if ability to communicate is preferred to formal accuracy, and examiners frequently imply that there seems to be an increasing number of candidates able to contribute to a conversation [cf. IV.A.71.31; IV.O.73.10; XIV.HSC.72.3; XVII.L.74.1]. In the British reports, this is observed mainly where students have spent some time in the C_2 [e.g., IV.O.72.10]. Nevertheless, the overall standard is not high, grammatical accuracy remains low [e.g., XIII.O.72.16; XIV.HSC.72.5], and there is little fluency of expression [e.g., IV.A.74.33; II.A.68.9]. Though the average level would be above S-1 on the FSI scale [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968:2; Appendix 1], few matriculation students would reach S-2, which requires the confidence to handle most social situations and conversations on work, family, and self.

WRITING: Most of the comments made so far on proficiency levels and characteristic errors apply also to writing skills especially since the examinations in which they have been identified heavily favour writing. In one board's O-level papers, James and Rouve [1973:55] found that almost 29% went to writing in the FL compared with approximately 14% to listening, 12½% to speaking, and 30% to reading. Harding [1975] estimated that the 1976 A-level papers would allocate from 30% to 41% to writing. The form the test takes is usually an essay and prose translation [cf. Schools Council 1969:21 and 1970:12; James and Rouve 1973:14 and Table 12; Harding 1975] though innovations such as précis-writing and various forms of guided composition are gradually appearing (though often optionally to traditional test types [cf. Harding 1975]).

If accuracy in grammar and spelling is considered, as seems justifiable in the formal written register, the overall level of written proficiency must be considered very low and less than for other skills. In reading and listening comprehension tests, for example, students often seem to have understood the text and questions but are unable to express their answers in French [e.g., II.O.72.9; I.O.73.4; XIII.O.70.14]. This may seem unexpected in view of the emphasis on written skills in both testing and, consequently, teaching. However, oral skills are also inferior to the receptive reading and aural skills, students in the traditional classroom have a largely passive role, and the major form of written practice at A-level, the prose, is of limited value as a learning experience since the student's response is passive and curtails rather than encourages initiation of language. In contrast, Chapter Four will emphasize the importance to language learning of the active involvement of the learner in initiating language for self-expression.

Despite some very good essays [e.g., I.A.73.27; IV.O.70.7], the overall standard of written proficiency is "depressingly low" [IV.A.70.30]. One examiner commented:

> *The major area of difficulty remains, understandably, the active use of the written language* [VII.HSC.73.1],

while others stated:

> *The standard of essay writing was not high, the majority of candidates scoring under half marks* [XII.H.72.2],
>
> *...most disappointing...* [XIII.A.70.72],

and

> *...the majority were disappointing and a disturbingly large number of candidates proved quite unable to give an ordered expression in careful French of a few opinions on topics of current interest.* [IV.A.72.30]

It seems that many students at this level are incapable of writing good French or of discussing other than trivia in the written language [cf. IV.A.71.30] while, if anything, the standard seems to be declining [cf. IV.O.72.10; IV.O.74.8; VII.HSC.70.14].

The faults already noted are applicable here and do not require detailed discussion. In summary, the major areas of deficiency include formal accuracy in spelling [e.g., XIII.S.73.57] and agreements [e.g., XIII.S.73.57; IV.A.70.30; IV.A.73.31; I.O.73.4-5; XIII.O.71.15; XIII.O.73.17] and a "plethora" [IV.A.74.31] of grammatical errors including distortion of fundamental sentence structures [II.O.72.8; IV.A.74.31; VII.HSC.70.1; IV.A.74.30; XII.CSYS.73.9; XIII.S.73.57]. Pronouns [cf. pp. 99 -102] are used infrequently and inaccurately [e.g., I.O.73.5] while the other devices that allow for the subordination and co-ordination of ideas are unavailable and this restricts students to producing only the simplest sentences [e.g., I.O.73.4; IV.O.72.10]. Vocabulary seems very limited or, at best, unavailable for recall during written production [e.g.,II.AO.72.12; IV.A.70.30; IV.A.74.30; XII.CSYS.73.9; XIII.A.70.72]. The lack of comments on vocabulary deficiencies where précis-writing occurs instead of prose translation suggests that the students' recognition of vocabulary is somewhat greater than their productive vocabulary [cf. XVII.L and M. 70-74]. One of the needs for advanced courses is, then, to find ways to make more of the recognition vocabulary available for active production.

Proses and essays seem to be badly done [e.g., IV.A.71.30; IV.O.72.10; XII.H.72.2; XIII.A.70.72] though, except for two reports [XII.CSYS.73.9; XIII.A.72.56-57], the latter are the more severely criticized. Some reasons for this difference have already been discussed but the banality of the content of the essays and their lack of structuring, factors that do not enter into proses or written reproduction tests, contribute. Other factors include the lack of integration between the student's M.O.W. and the FL, his inability to think in the FL [cf. pp. 116-119], the readier use of cryptographic skills in the prose where they are applied to problems that have already been "controlled" to the student's level by the examiner, and the greater practice of prose translation in language classes. One examiner stated, concerning the essays:

> *The standard was generally depressingly low. There was a striking paucity of vocabulary and idiom, whilst the level of accuracy... was often lower than in* [*the prose*].
> [IV.A.70.30]

In the essay where the onus for planning and structuring is on the student, the result is as low as the earlier discussion of cohesion, discourse and thought sequence [pp. 109 -114] would lead one to expect. Most essays seem to be a list of simple, unconnected sentences [cf. IV.O.72.10] with no integration or relating of ideas and with no overall planning or structuring of the content to give coherence [cf. IV.A.72.30; XIII.O.73.17; XIII.S.73.57]. One examiner commented:

> *Surely 'A' level candidates have more idea of planning work than was apparent in many essays.* [II.A.72.14]

Another stated:

> *...the majority [of essays] were disappointing and a disturbingly large number of candidates proved quite unable to give an ordered expression in careful French of a few opinions on topics of current interest.* [IV.A.72.30]

The content of essays (the main test of written self-expression) is invariably deplored as banal, childish, trivial, or unimaginative. Reasons for this were seen in considering the nature of school courses in Chapter One, pp. 33 - 38 and in considering the lack of an imaginative function [pp. 103-107]. Creativity in language and ideas is stifled by the learner's passive learning role, by the neglect of the M.O.W. and its integration with the FL, and by the focus in school language learning (using audiolingual and traditional methods) on the memorization or translation of sentences as terminal goals in themselves. The results reported by the Chief Examiners clearly suggest that prose translation, a dominant testing and teaching strategy in the latter part of Secondary School, is unsuccessful in developing significant skills in spontaneous written expression or even in prose translation itself. While language learning is passive, is based on purpose-less activity, and subsumes a "digestive" concept of knowledge [cf. Freire 1972:26], it is not surprising that the language students produce lacks purpose and its content is "banal" [I.O.73.5] and "a plethora of dullness and errors" [IV.A.74.31].

It is clear that the standard of writing skills in matriculation students is very low. Their capacity in either prose translation or composition is very limited and reflects deficiencies in almost every area. One must agree with the examiner who stated:

> *It seems a sad commentary on our teaching skill that the vast majority of candidates cannot muster more than a handful of correct sequences of words after four or five years of French.* [I.O.73.5]

REGISTERS. The last section could be taken to suggest that students entering the advanced stage have not yet mastered the written register. However, the inadequacies seem to be so far-reaching and so basic that it is probably more correct to consider them as problems of general language development and development of a macro-skill rather than solely as unfamiliarity with a register. Nevertheless, there is little evidence that matriculation students have any sensitivity towards or facility in using register variations. This is not surprising since, except for the literary register, most Secondary School courses give little attention to different registers and are prone to teach an insipid "schoolroom French" [cf. Chapter One, pp. 14 - 16], i.e., a register distinctive of FL classrooms. The students' insensitivity to register use (in this case to the tenor of discourse [Halliday 1974:50]) is seen in their gratuitous mixing of *tu* and *vous* [e.g., II.O.71.3; II.O.72.5-6; IV.O.71.9; VII.HSC.70.12; XIII.O.70.14; XIII.A.73.56; XIV.HSC.72.4]. It has also been noted by Holland [1970] who complained of the indiscriminant use of the literary language (especially of the classical period) by First Year university students.

The teaching of "schoolroom French" doubtless contributes to the lack of facility in the "everyday register". The problems in defining such a register have already been referred to in Chapter One but, for educated persons today and especially for those with a sympathetic interest in other people (an attitudinal goal for language teaching in the multicultural society [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 439 - 452]), it should include, in the broadest terms, the language needed to get around in the C_2 as a tourist, the non-specialist language needed to attend school, go shopping, or live a normal life in the C_2, and the non-specialist language that would enable him to take an intelligent interest in the life and affairs of the C_2 or the ethnic community in the C_1 and to discuss the C_1 with visitors or migrants from the C_2. However, weakness in this register is reported by most Chief Examiners, who observe that students seem unable to discuss "contemporary matters or problems of general interest" as they relate to the C_2 [II.A.71.3 and 8]. This could result from ignorance of the culture and civilisation as much as from linguistic ignorance but linguistic difficulties are also observed in handling newspaper reports where this register occurs [cf. II.A.72.14-15 and pp. 116 - 119].

Facility in the everyday register will be developed where teachers have tried to interest students in contemporary life in the C_2 and have tried to develop the language to discuss them. In a few places, this seems to have happened and some students have started to develop facility in the technical and sociological language relevant to contemporary life in the C_2 [II.O.72.3; I.A.73.27; XIII.A.74.47]. Most students, however, seem ignorant of this register and this ignorance extends to the more personal and immediate aspects of the "everyday language" and reflects the depersonalized nature of much language teaching. Thus, students seem unable to discuss themselves, their own lives, interests, homes, families and activities [e.g., II.O.71.4 and 12; II.A.68.10; IV.A.74.30; VII.HSC.73.7; XIII.A.73.56]. They are unable to use those features (including courtesy features [XIII.A.73.56]) that mark the conversational register. One report commented on the use of the past historic in conversation [II.O.71.14] and others on the omission of honorifics [e.g., I.O.73.6; XIV.HSC.73.3]. In one case, this is noted with *bonjour* and *au revoir* [XIV.HSC.73.3]. At first, this criticism seems unfair because the candidate may feel, with *bonjour*, that the test has not started and, with *au revoir*, that it has already finished. This very possibility, however, underlines a deficiency in much language teaching, viz., that the FL is taught like a game to be learned and played at specified times and not in such a way that it functions in the natural and spontaneous manner of the L_1.

Inability to handle the conversational register is noted not only in the conversation test but also when the "prose" involves dialogue, the quality of such proses being lower than others [e.g., IV.O.71.10; XIII.O.70.14; XIV.HSC.72.2]. The written form analogous to conversation is the personal letter, a form with which many students are unable to cope and with whose stylistic and conventional devices they are unfamiliar [e.g., IV.A.73.31]. On the other hand, the generally literary focus of the matriculation course seems not to have led to mastery of the register appropriate to literary discussion either because of vocabulary deficiencies [e.g., II.A.68.10; II.A.71.8] or for the functional reasons discussed earlier [pp. 103 -107]. Nor does this literary experience seem to have developed in the students much sense of style either in appreciation [e.g., II.A.68.7; I.S.71.28; IV.S.72.41] or in writing their own essays [cf. IV.O.71.9] although one examiner did comment favourably in this last respect [XIII.A.71.74].

By the advanced stage of language learning, there is clear need for the learner to acquire facility in varying language to suit register requirements, i.e., he must learn to recognize the language forms that are suitable to the physical situation, the participants in the interaction and the relationships between them, the medium, the subject matter, and the purpose of the language act. It is unlikely in the narrow confines of the classroom and with the constraints imposed by the school situation, its facilities, and entrenched interpersonal roles, that the language learner can experience a sufficient variety of language and language situations for sensitivity to register requirements to develop. Register choice, as Halliday [1974:32-36, 45-60] has made clear, is determined by a multitude of considerations including at least those indicated above, resulting in variations in field, mode, and tenor [ibid.:48-53] accompanied by a vast number of concomitant linguistic variations. In practice, the teacher will select certain broad "registers" to teach since to teach all possible registers or even all possible variations within the language of any one field of activity is impossible. His general aim must be to develop the learner's sensitivity to the determinants of register choice in the FL and to the linguistic variations they produce.

The multivarious factors that determine the actual nature of the language that will occur cannot be experienced in the classroom with its limited possibilities and formal restrictions. Yet the learner must experience them in order to develop sensitivity to them and to relate them to language variations. Imagination, role play, and drama are not sufficient since the learner's imagination cannot create sufficient of the appropriate factors that determine register choice or enable him to vividly experience the personal roles involved. Imagination and role play can operate only within a context. A child, for example, who is told to imagine he is "a xykoc malbrikking in a kaffishond", will either be unable to do anything or he will imagine within the context of his past experience. In other words, role play or imagination cannot be suitable *before* experience of the language situation since the factors that determine the FL choice of register and of its components will not be known and the learner must either fail to make the necessary associations or he will relate the communicative choice to the determining factors in his L_1. He must experience all the environmental and other determinants of communicative choice in the FL in order to acquire the parameters within which his imagination can operate in order to make role play feasible for future classroom practice and in order to enable him to respond appropriately when the communication environment is deficient or has to be imagined as, for example, in a telephone conversation or when he is writing. This experience must include a wide variety of registers in real language situations many of which must necessarily be outside the traditional classroom and involve active and purposeful use of language in natural situations for the achievement of desired ends.

LITERATURE: Since the study of literature is a highly contentious issue at both intermediate and advanced levels and remains a major part of all matriculation examinations (though, in the Queensland French Syllabus, it is recommended that only the best and most advanced students attempt it [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:2, 10]), it is worth considering the extent to which matriculation students are capable of handling the literary language. To speak of "a literary register", unless that term refers only to the language of literary criticism, is clearly false since it can vary from the conversations in *L'Etranger* to Sartre's philosophical writings to classical drama or an Appollinaire poem. However, literary writings have at least one thing in common, viz., they suggest more than they say. This is why technological or sociological writings, in which the meaning is explicit, are more accessible at this stage than literature where the meaning is implicit and its abstraction is dependent on highly developed linguistic skill and cultural understanding. Literature is, as Strevens has stated, "subtle and creative and special,...*different* from, and...[unsuitable] for teaching, everyday discourse" [Strevens 1968:218]. Because of this and because its effectiveness comes from contrasting with ordinary language, it necessarily presupposes the reader's mastery of the ordinary language, i.e., the language of the everyday or non-specialist register. We have already seen [pp. 133 - 138] that matriculation students do not have such mastery, that their language proficiency is significantly less than that which the FSI scale and Stern's suggest as needed for literary appreciation, and now it is evident from the Examiners' Reports that matriculation students are rarely able to cope with literature.

There were some favourable comments about some students' literary appreciation, their sensitivity to the works studied, and their interest in them [e.g., IV.A.71.31; IV.A.72.31; IV.S.74.43; VII.HSC.69.12-14; XIII.A.73.57]. However, the vast majority of the comments refer to the superficiality of the students' response, the lack of evidence of a critical judgement [e.g., II.A.72.18], and the evidence of pre-prepared answers [XVII.M.74.2]. One examiner complained that the answers "lacked subtlety and perspective" [I.A.71.27], another that the answers were "shallow and artificial" [IV.S.72.41], and few students seem able to see beneath the surface to gain genuine literary appreciation by perceiving themes, seeking hidden meanings, appreciating irony, or savouring the style [cf. IV.A.70.31; IV.S.70.41; IV.S.72.40; VII.HSC.71.9; XII.CSYS.72.9]. Usually answers that should show literary appreciation or critical judgement are only re-narration or factual listings on the author's life and works [e.g., I.A.73.28-9; II.A.68.6; II.A.72.18; IV.S.70.41; VII.HSC.69.12-14; XIII.A.72.57; XVII.M.74.2]. Often it is evident that literary appreciation at this level consists of little more than the regurgitation of second-hand ideas [e.g., II.A.68.5] and it is dangerously easy for both teachers and examiners to confuse "literary appreciation" with understanding what the teacher says about the text. It is illogical to overrate the stage of development of the literary or aesthetic sense or the students' sensibility to the FL literature when we consider the linguistic inadequacies and slight cultural understanding already seen in this chapter. Several reports bear this out by acknowledging that many students read the set texts in translation and not in the FL [cf. II.A.68.6; I.A.73.28-9; IV.A.72.31]. This suggests that literary study is probably premature at this stage and nullifies the other reason for studying literature, viz., to develop the reading skill.

Those examiners who expected some indication of style and of the art of writing were almost invariably disappointed. One examiner regretted students' inability to comment on the artistic advantages of Gide's use of the first person in *La Symphonie Pastorale* [II.A.68.6], another noted complete confusion in comments on the form and style of a poem [IV.S.72.41], while others simply regretted the insensitivity to the writer's art and style [IV.A.72.31; XIII.A.72.57]. This surely is not surprising in view of the level of language proficiency that we have observed and, consequently, the literary and stylistic expectations made of these students are clearly premature.

Poetry, the most subtle language art, demanding the most sophisticated use of language, is far beyond most of these students. One examiner, with masterly understatement in the light of his later comments, described the poetry answers as "fairly awful" [XVII.M.73.2] but all make it clear that the poetry questions are even less satisfactory than those on novels or drama and are characterized by superficiality, clichés (often inappropriately applied), insensitivity to the art of poetry, the prevalence of re-narration or paraphrase, and inadequate appreciation of meaning [e.g., II.A.68.6; IV.S.72.41; IV.A.72.31; VII.HSC.70.20-23; XII.CSYS.72.9; XIII.A.72.57].

The overall standard of the literary questions is clearly low and few students seem able to cope with the literary register or to have achieved the level of language proficiency that literary appreciation presupposes [cf. IV.A.73.33; VII.HSC.72.13]. For many, the study of literature does not involve reading so much as arduous deciphering and tedious thumbing of a dictionary. The benefit that this can bring in terms of language development is much less than that which could be obtained from materials more in accord with students' language proficiency. In addition, the tedium and frustration that accompanies this premature incursion into literature has strongly negative effects, develops bad word-by-word reading habits, discredits the whole notion of language learning as onerous and irrelevant, and leads many students to reject literature entirely. Thus, one examiner noted students' contemptuous comments on French poetry [I.S.71.28] while others have observed their reluctance even to consider poetry [e.g., XII.CSYS.72.9]. Nevertheless, as has already been observed, some students have both an interest in and sensitivity towards literature [cf. II.A.72.18;

XIII.A.73.57] and give evidence of being able to cope with the language. Such students could be introduced to literature but the others should rather be permitted to develop their reading skills in other ways and, if their interests are in that direction, to approach literary study when their language proficiency is more adequately developed (perhaps to R-4 on the FSI scale [cf. pp. 51 - 54]). For this, materials in science, social science, or some other field relevant to their interests would be more useful, i.e., materials in specialist registers whose language is less subject to the subtleties and complexities of literature, whose meaning is explicitly stated, whose content is relevant to the learner's needs and interests, and whose difficulty is such as to permit a great deal more reading to take place [cf. Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:2, 19].

LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS. Consideration of language functions is a logical outcome of the idea that language is not in itself important but assumes importance by virtue of what it is used to achieve. As Halliday has said,

> *...[in] taking a functional view of language... we are interested in what language can do, or rather what the speaker...can do with it...*
> [Halliday 1973:13]

If this view is accepted (as it was in Chapter One, pp. 20 - 21), language proficiency can be specified in terms of the functions or tasks the language can be used to carry out. Although the type of matriculation examination that is set gives little specific attention to language functions, nevertheless some picture of functional mastery does emerge.

We have already seen that many of the inadequacies of students noted in the Examiners' Reports can be considered as symptomatic of failure to master certain language functions. Earlier, we considered at length the students' mastery of the personal and imaginative functions [pp.103-107], the use of language in problem-solving [pp. 116-119], and, elsewhere, have made passing reference to a variety of other functions. Most of these will not be discussed again in detail here. Nor should it be thought that those referred to are the only language functions or necessarily the most important since, as Halliday makes clear [1973: Chapters III and VII], many language functions occur in the adult language varying according to the register and purpose for which the language is being used and several co-existing in many utterances. However, as one would expect from students who have largely followed courses that concentrate on teaching discrete sentences, the reports reveal that little functional mastery is achieved.

The heuristic, personal, and interactional functions of language (though developed early in L_1 acquisition [Halliday 1975]) seem to be undeveloped in the L_2 of matriculation students. The first is manifested grammatically in question formation and examiners frequently comment on the students' inability to frame questions properly [e.g., II.A.72.14; XIII.O.70.14]. This is not surprising in view of the teacher-dominated classroom where, in general, the teacher asks questions for the students to answer and where the interpersonal relationships involved militate against the student's asking questions, especially of a personal nature. Consequently, it is not surprising that the personal and interactional functions are also deficient [cf. pp. 103 - 107] and that examiners comment on the inability of students to express their own ideas in the FL and on the need to give more attention to self-expression in the FL [e.g., VII.HSC.70.2; VII.HSC.71.2; XII.CSYS.73.11; IV.A.71.31]. Russell [1970a] and Holland [1970] observed this same deficiency in First Year university students [Chapter One, pp. 16 - 20]. It is unlikely, in fact, that these functions can be learned in a classroom with the restricted variety of contexts it can offer and the teacher needs to structure situations where more diverse interpersonal relationships exist and where personal interaction between students, students and himself, and students and native speakers can take place with the students experiencing a diversity of social roles.

The counterpart to the questioning function, viz., answering, is also referred to by some examiners. Though students practise this in the normal classroom more frequently (but not necessarily often in grammar-translation-literature courses), their ability to respond appropriately to questions in conversation is not great [cf. pp. 123-127]. Examiners note in particular their failure to observe and respond appropriately to the significant markers in the question, interrogative words such as *comment?* [IV.O.70.8], tenses [I.O.71.4; I.A.71.27; XIV.HSC.72.4], or nouns which require pronouns in answer [XIII.O.74.11]. The reading equivalent of the question-answer functions, viz., reading for information, also seems to want development [e.g., VII.HSC.69.3 and cf. pp. 121-123]. In addition, we have already seen that many students lack the functions to handle a conversation, i.e., to open, continue, and close conversations [e.g., IV.A.73.33; IV.O.74.11; XIII.A.73.56]. This deficiency in advanced students is reflected more positively in the apparent success of ESL courses aimed specifically at teaching such skills in post-matriculation classes [e.g., Rogers 1975, Morrow and Johnson 1975].

Those functions that permit the speaker or writer to express diminished responsibility, to depersonalize his utterance, and to express the hypothetical are apparently not well mastered by many students. Frequent errors occur with *on* [e.g., IV.O.71.10] and impersonal constructions [e.g., IV.O.72.12; VII.HSC.71.2] while the successful use of conditionals and other devices to mitigate what is said or to express the hypothetical is rare [e.g., II.A.71.8; XIV.HSC.72.1; VII.HSC.73.7; VII.HSC.70.14].

We have seen the marked inability of matriculation students to cope with the functional use of the FL for essay and letter writing [pp. 127-136] and this well illustrates the two factors entailed in language use, viz., knowledge of the language (here, written French) and ability to use it in performing a task (here, writing an essay or letter). Though the first pre-requisite leaves much to be desired, the second (the functional task) has been seen to be seriously defective especially in cohesion, planning, and structuring [cf. II.A.68.14; I.O.71.2; IV.A.72.31]. In letters also, the functional tasks as reflected in openers and closers (compare the conversational skills above) and in structuring [e.g., IV.O.71.9; IV.A.72.30] are yet to be mastered. The function of summary writing (which involves reading for information, selection of key facts, and composition) seems also to be quite poorly mastered and the examiners' comments on the précis are generally critical [e.g., I.A.73.28; II.AO.72.12; XVII.M.74.1; XVII.M.70.1 but not XVII.M.71-73].

TRANSLATION: Translation viewed as a language "function" is a highly sophisticated skill requiring considerable proficiency in both languages but especially in the language of the final version. It is clear from this chapter that few matriculation students have attained sufficient proficiency in the FL and yet there can be no doubt that it is the skill of translation as a sophisticated language function that most examiners expect the students to demonstrate [cf. II.A.72.15;

II.O.73.3; VII.HSC.70.2]. The inappropriateness of such expectations at matriculation level have already been considered at length [pp. 55 -60 , 121-123, 127-133] and here we shall consider only evidence for the students' inability to handle the translation function. The FL is clearly insufficiently developed for this function to be observed in the prose, especially if one recalls the incomplete state of development of the matriculation student's linguistic competence, his lack of facility in handling registers, and his insensitivity to stylistic variations. In fact, even professional linguists are debarred by their code of conduct from translating into a FL [Institute of Linguists 1974:12] and it would seem fairer and more informative to consider the students' ability to handle translation where the target language poses no problems, i.e., in translation into the L_1.

Serious distortions and errors in English are common and led one examiner to speak of the handicap faced by students whose grasp of their L_1 is insecure [XIV.HSC.73.1]. Perhaps a more probable reason for the non-English that most examiners complain of [I.O.71.2; I.O.73.3; IV.A.70.31; VII.HSC.69.5; XIII.O.71.19; XIII.A.71.73; XIV.HSC.73.1] is that the language function of translation is simply not mastered by most students; they do not, in fact, translate but cryptographically decipher word-by-word; they are not "writing in English" since they write things they would never normally produce. They are, instead, doing an elaborate crossword in which textual meaning, cohesion, and discourse are insignificant. Certainly they do not seem to decode meaning in order to re-express it in English and we have already observed the word-by-word approach to FL use which the examiners also specifically comment upon in the translation questions [e.g., I.O.73.3; IV.S.74.43; II.A.68.3]. Thus, unidicmatic English readily occurs, does so even where the students seem to have understood the passage [IV.O.72.10; VII.HSC.70.2; II.O.72.3], and is especially evident in the unidiomatic translation of tenses, articles [e.g., II.O.72.3; VII.HSC.72.8], and such expressions as *mais oui, eh bien donc,* and emphatic pronouns [e.g., II.O.72.3].

There may be an even more serious reason for the distorted language that appears in translations into the L_1, a reason with serious implications for the whole language teaching process and its objectives. At times, students seem able to write *savage flowers* [XIII.O.71.19] or *a car which enters our life trying to imitate us* [VII.HSC.69.5], things which they would not normally write in English, because they see FL speakers as peculiar people, different from themselves, who might say almost anything. It is the grammatical and semantic analogue of the nationalistic prejudices and contempt that sometimes surface in literature and civilisation questions [e.g., II.A.68.7; I.S.71.28]. This has profound implications for language teaching, implications which reach into grammatical mastery and underline the importance of structuring language teaching to encourage the development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes.

The tendency to translate words instead of meanings not only reflects lack of facility in the function of translation but has other serious consequences. First, as was discussed earlier [pp. 55-56], the proficiency assessment made is invalidated by the intrusion of an advanced language function whose assessment may have little correlation with language proficiency, for which the students are ill-prepared linguistically, and which, therefore, encourages an answering technique contrary to natural language use. Secondly, the translation question (especially in view of its backwash effect on the teaching of the language) encourages bad reading habits. Instead of the learner's being encouraged to read for meaning and to extrapolate meaning where a word is unknown, he is penalized for "skipping" unknown words and so feels obliged to work word-by-word. Thus one examiner objected that the students obviously had gained a general impression of the passage but were unable to translate certain specific words and phrases [VII.HSC.70.2].

One examiner summed up the situation, underlined the fact that it is the sophisticated skill of translation that is expected, and showed that few students at the end of Secondary School have acquired either the pre-requisite language proficiency or the translation function:

> *It is still rare to find candidates who have mastered the art of combining fluent, natural English with accuracy of comprehension and economy of expression: the extremes of literal transposition and approximate paraphrase are not uncommon.* [XII.CSYS.73.9]

In brief, translation has not been acquired as a language function and should not be used as a test of reading comprehension since more effective tests are available and since translation is prone to misuse with both students and examiners focussing on words instead of meaning. If translation is required as a language function, it can be taught only at an advanced stage of language learning after considerable proficiency in the FL has been achieved including proficiency in the non-specialist and other registers and sensitivity to style. In addition, it probably demands a structured knowledge of the L_1, ability to introspect and compare one's own reactions in both languages, and sufficient understanding of the cultural backgrounds of the original author, his intended audience, and the intended audience of the translation, to create a text that will produce identical reactions in both audiences [cf. Nida 1975]. Clearly, the translation function cannot and does not exist for most matriculation students. James and Rouve sum up the conflict in its roles:

> *Ability to apply language skills in translation as a function is the result of expert training, not the spin-off of demonstrating knowledge of lexis, syntax and morphology by translating 'an easy prose passage' as part of a language examination.* [James and Rouve 1973:14]

CONTENT. When language becomes an end in itself, one corollary is that its content is of only secondary importance. We saw in Chapter One, pp. 33 - 38, that the content used in much language teaching and testing is trivial and banal and these qualities inevitably extend to the language of the students [cf. also pp. 33 - 38, 85 - 87, 103 - 107, 127 - 138]. In fact, much of what matriculation students write or say in the FL is uninteresting and even childish. Examiners speak of the prevalence of "repetition and silly superficiality" [II.O.72.5], the "ridiculous and trivial" [II.O.72.5], "elementary responses at the most banal level" [II.A.71.8], "lack of ideas" [II.A.71.8], "extremely banal" [I.O.73.4], "meagre" [XIII.S.74.47], and "a plethora of dullness" [IV.A.74.31]. One examiner highlighted one of the main reasons for this when he said:

> *...too many candidates seemed to be following the precept 'it doesn't matter what you say so long as it's in good French'.* [IV.A.71.30]

In fact, the focus of language teaching and testing has traditionally been on the production of discrete "correct sentences" and this encourages the student to focus on the language and its formal correctness rather than its content. Yet, if the content is not interesting or the learner has to search for content, it is unlikely that the quality of the language will be very good. Thus, essays are poor not only in content but also in language [cf. pp. 127 - 133]. In contrast, compositions with content guidance or written reproduction exercises where reasonable content is provided seem often to be of higher standard [e.g., XIII.O.74.10-11; II.O.72.5].

The problem of trivial content is difficult to overcome since it needs a radical re-orientation of language teaching. The learner's L_1 has power and meaning (i.e., its content becomes significant) as he uses it for social purposes, to gain information, to fool with his friends, and to satisfy his material, spiritual, psychological and social needs. If the FL is to assume the same sort of importance (i.e., if the content of the FL is to become significant) the learner must see it as being able to function similarly, to achieve similar purposes. His learning task is, as it was for his L_1 in infancy, to "learn how to mean" through the FL [cf. Halliday 1975], to learn that he can "mean" in it, and to learn that it is the content that it carries that is important. He cannot, of course, "mean" if he has not sufficient language to carry his meanings. However, Chapter Four will show that one cannot put off "meaning" until language has been acquired. That is, language teaching must not focus only on producing correct sentences but on meaningful and purposeful use of the FL. In addition, as was seen earlier [pp. 103-107, 116-119], the learner must acquire the imaginative function and a congruent M.O.W. within the context of which creative imagination can operate and receive natural expression through the

FL. The alternative is for the learner to be encouraged to think in his L_1 and to translate into the FL but this process encourages interference and leads inevitably to linguistic problems [pp. 109 - 114; VII.HSC.70.16; XIV.HSC.72.2; II.O.72.4].

GENERAL PROFICIENCY. Pages 76 to 119 were essentially concerned with the components that make up a language while Pages 119 to 154 considered how effectively the FL can be used. Although many diverse errors have been noted, it is significant that the most serious occur frequently. This suggests that a more or less common level of development has been reached and it would be useful if that diversity of errors could be located within a universal L_1 or L_2 developmental schedule. Developmental psycholinguistics is not yet sufficiently advanced to provide such a complete schedule [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 412 - 419] but we can compare the deficiencies that have been noted with proficiency scales that have proved effective in characterizing the usefulness of a FL for communication purposes. We saw, in fact, [pp. 72 - 76] that the average level of proficiency is S-1+ to S-2, R-2. However, the individual variation is great and any provision made for students entering subsequent courses must cater for a wide range of individual differences in ability and needs.

LEARNER'S LINGUISTIC NEEDS IN THE ADVANCED STAGE

In Chapter One, [pp. 38 - 41], the task for advanced language teaching was defined as bringing the learner from the proficiency level attained by matriculation to one that approximates that of his L_1 and where the FL is an efficient tool for the achievement of whatever ends, in whatever contexts, the learner may individually desire to use it. It is clear, however, that there are few students at matriculation for whom the FL is a viable tool for any significant task whether in everyday communication, on the one hand, or in literary appreciation on the other. Consequently, the most conservative aim of an advanced course must be to enable the student to reach a level of confidence and proficiency beyond "the threshold of minimum usefulness" [Council for National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:1]. If this does not occur, motivation will be destroyed and the time and effort spent will be wasted.

In showing the inadequacies of the learners' language at matriculation, the first half of this chapter has also shown, by implication, their linguistic needs in the advanced stage. These are elaborated in the table of learning needs in Appendix 4. It would be tempting to look at all the grammatical errors that appear in the language of advanced students and say that they require much more work on the basic grammar and vocabulary of the language. However, many

Furthermore, there seems to be good evidence that advanced students increasingly want practical skills, i.e., use of the language, to be the focus of attention in teaching. Anecdotal evidence in Australia testifies to the increased popularity of "practical courses" in Australian universities [cf. Ingram 1974:81] and Lukmani [1972] has shown that instrumental motivation (which would call for focus on use in language teaching) can be a powerful agent in promoting language learning especially where a strong nationalistic spirit exists (as it does currently in Australia [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:41]). In the Emmans survey [Emmans et al. 1974:38], the "New" graduates, whose courses favoured practical skills, were more favourably disposed to language learning than the others while those graduates who regretted having taken FL's were influenced especially by the usefulness of the language in their career and by the way it had been taught, presumably (though the survey's questionnaire does not elicit this very clearly) feeling that practical use had been under-emphasized [ibid.:39].

Nevertheless, the earlier comment remains valid: language functions (hence, language use) cannot exist without the linguistic components (lexis and syntax) that carry them [pp. 86 - 87]. Advanced language teaching must have a multiple approach which focusses of the errors occur in aspects of grammar taught for several years; some at least will not be eradicated until the students' internalized linguistic competence has developed further in its own way; continued repetition and revision of the same rules is futile, boring, and demotivating; and, unless the communicative value of the items is empirically evident to the learner, they will not be acquired. In other words, learning is more likely now to be promoted if active, purposeful use of the language is encouraged rather than more, passive repetition of what was done before. Perren puts it well:

> *However, it is an old criticism that the student (or teacher) only too often concentrates on studying the construction of the language and too seldom spends his time in learning to use it to some purpose. Thus he seems like a cyclist who begins a journey by taking his machine to pieces when he ought to be riding it. And, moreover, when he ought to be riding it from one place to another he sometimes appears to spend much time practising on a small enclosed circular track.* [Perren 1963:5]

The futility of this approach is seen in Australia where overseas university students set to re-do *Situational English*, Books 1-3, fail to significantly improve their language proficiency. Similarly, in England, remedial courses based on syntax and vocabulary and offered to overseas students also seem to be unsuccessful [cf. Moller 1975; Davies 1975; Wallace 1975]. Carroll [1967a:202] found that "language" courses, presumably structure-based and "remedial", had no significant effect or even a negative effect on students entering college in the U.S. with inadequate language.

on use, develops functional facility, and enables the learner to improve his mastery of the language components. To some extent, the second and third will come in the course of the first. That is, while the learner is using the language in comprehension and production in order to achieve some desired end (e.g., social interaction or geographical knowledge), he will experience a variety of language functions, a broad cross-section of the grammar, and diverse lexis. However, specific attention to certain aspects of these may be needed where weaknesses are evident.

The first part of this chapter has shown that the learners' needs extend across the grammar but the needs of any one learner will differ from those of any other and, hence, advanced grammar courses must be individualized. This need is further emphasized when one realizes that most matriculation courses claim to have "covered" all the basic grammar and so, to this extent, advanced grammatical teaching is remedial. Hence, it is pointless to specify actual areas of grammar that require attention since the course must remain sensitive to each learner's individual needs. For this, provision is needed for learners to have access to practice material to meet individual needs in whatever aspect of the grammar they occur. Needs will be evident only if the learner has wide experience of the language with continual demands on him to be actively and productively involved in using the language, in active listening, and in initiating utterances. In addition, if it is possible to develop the learner's ability to introspect his language needs and to determine (perhaps, initially, in consultation with his teachers) his own learning programme, his dependence on the teacher can be gradually reduced leaving him with the knowledge, confidence, and independence to continue his language learning beyond the college or university.

NEEDS: THE SOCIETY AND THE STUDENT

EDUCATION FOR PLURALISM

The debate over the contribution of FL teaching to life in the modern world continues in Australia. Yet, fast travel, rapid communications, and the expansion of international trade by the consumer society have destroyed the remoteness and linguistic exclusiveness of all nations. The same debate amongst language teachers was pursured vigorously elsewhere throughout the 1950's and 1960's and the educational, cultural, attitudinal, and economic contributions of FL study in preparation for life in a contracting world have been closely examined. With respect to Australia, the case has recently been argued at length in Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970, Ingram 1972, Bostock 1973, Grassby 1974 and 1975, and Ingram, Leal and Bissett 1975-1976.

However, little consideration seems to have been given to the changes that have been taking place within societies which were once considered to be homogeneous or to the contribution that FL study can make to the new forms of society that are emerging. Australian society will be taken as an example but similar social changes have been occurring in many countries, in particular, in North America and Britain. In no case, however, at least in English-speaking countries, is there any significant sign that the language teaching system has recognised what has been happening and adapted its objectives, content and methods to meet the new societal needs.

Although it was never really accurate to view Australian society as homogeneous [cf. Grassby 1973:6-7], it is nevertheless beyond dispute that that is how it viewed itself and that it exerted considerable social, educational, and political pressures in order to maintain this homogeneity [cf. Bostock 1973; Grassby 1973, 1973a and b, 1974; Beazley 1974; Matheson 1974]. The popular attitude was exemplified in 1956 by A.E. Monk, former President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions:

> *One of the first causes of friction we encounter is the fear that the presence of foreigners will undermine our own way of life. And Australian men and women...are not reassured by hearing foreign languages spoken in public places.* [Quoted in Bostock 1973:41]

Such views were paralleled in the governments' migration policies which, in Bostock's words, aimed traditionally at "total assimilation" [Bostock 1973:42].

The preservation of ethnic groups or the maintenance of their language and culture was seen as unnecessary and a threat to an harmonious Australian society [cf. Martin 1972:14] while what the governments and people were striving for was, in the words of the Prime Minister in 1949,

> *the ideal of one Australian family, devoid of foreign communities, thus preserving our homogeneity and solidarity as a nation.*
> [From a letter to the Premier of Victoria, quoted in Martin 1972:14]

The language teaching system seems at least tacitly to have accepted this attitude. Rather than increase with increased migration, it has declined. Thus, from 40.3% in 1967, the percentage of matriculation students taking a FL declined to 16.4% in 1974 [Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975:18]. University language enrolments (which considerably exceed actual student numbers) declined from 9.5% of the university population in 1965 to 7% in 1973 [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:48 and Appendix 3b], while comparison of these figures with Bostock's [1973:41] shows that in 1969 approximately 0.75% of the 20 to 24 year old population was studying a language at university compared with a total university population approaching 9%. These figures show clearly that the language teaching system is catering for only a very small proportion of the Australian population and that that proportion is declining.

In other ways also, the language teaching system seems to be reflecting a belief in the homogeneity of the population. There is no evidence that teaching methods capitalize upon the migrant community or take account of it when formulating objectives and methods. Thus, for instance, despite a significant Italian community in the State and the fact that Italian is the second most widely spoken language in Australia [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:20], the Italian syllabus for Queensland schools makes little reference to the use of newspapers, radio programmes, and other material produced for the local Italian community [Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1975] and, in fact, the Italian Syllabus Committee in a statement to the Foreign Languages Advisory Committee of the Board of Secondary School Studies in November 1974 specifically rejected proposals from the Advisory Committee that contacts with the local Italian community should be encouraged.

Furthermore, few opportunities exist in Australia to study the languages and cultures of the nation's ethnic communities. A 1973 survey found no courses in Aboriginal languages (except in Linguistics Departments where the concern was not for the development of communication skills) [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:10]. Italian, the best represented language, was available in only 6 of the 15 universities then in existence, Modern Greek (from 1974) and Portuguese in 3, Spanish in 4, and Dutch and Swedish in 2, while no courses were offered in Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Ukrainian, Hungarian or Turkish despite large migrant populations [cf. ibid.:32, 44-45, 31]. French (with a relatively small migrant population) was taught in all 15, German in 12, Russian in 5, and the classical languages in 10 [ibid.:44-45]. To matriculation level, the Australian Universities Commission figures show that only three migrant languages are taught (Italian, Dutch and Spanish) or four if German is included [Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975:18]. The same figures reveal a slight increase in student numbers from 3619 (625 without German) in 1967 to 4193 (1161) in 1974 but, in that time, the Secondary School population at matriculation increased from 54,891 to 89,610 giving a percentage decline in the study of migrant languages from 6.6% to 4.7%. If German is excluded, the figures are almost stationary but exceedingly small at 1.1% in 1967 and 1.3% in 1974.

In all, the inescapable conclusion is that the Australian language teaching system is predicated on the assumption that it is serving a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon society. Yet, the social reality is that Australia's is a pluralist society, the pluralism being manifested in language, race, and culture. The 1971 census showed that 39.6% of the population consisted of migrants or children of migrants [Department of Education 1976:3]. 21.9% of the children born in Australia have at least one parent born in a non-English speaking country [Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975:46]. The 1971 census showed 19 non-English speaking countries where 11,500 or more Australians were born [ibid.:18]. One Australian in three is the product of post-war migration [Commissioner for Community Relations 1976:12]. Melbourne is the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world after Athens and Salonika [ibid.:12]. Traditionally, the United States has been considered the ethnically most diverse society in the world and yet, proportionately for every migrant the U.S. has received since 1945, Australia has received forty [ibid.:12]. Whatever measure one might use, clearly, Australia is a multicultural society, i.e., in Grassby's words:

> *...a major part of Australia's total population is linked directly by birth or, less directly, by family and marriage to the history, language, culture and traditions of an overseas country.*
> [Grassby 1973a:8-9]

The role of the education system in such a society, if it aims at fitting the young for life in their society, is radically different from that in a homogeneous community. At least three tasks emerge for an education system re-structured to meet the needs of a multicultural society. First, second language skills to enable ready communication between individuals, generations and groups for family, social, business, educational, and political purposes are essential. Second, the education system's role as the transmitter of a community's culture and life-style is much more complex. Beazley pointed out the greater diversity of the culture to be transmitted:

> *What is the Australian way of life today? The life-style and values of the suburban housewife in Moonee [illegible]e Italian travel agent in Carlton, the Turkish car factory worker, the Slavic Orthodox priest, or the Aboriginal at Lake Tyers?... The chauvinistic view that devalues the presence and activity of ethnic groups as un-Australian will need to be rejected...*
>
> *Cherished aspects of the [migrant] parents' former life-style must be preserved - not only for the sake of their children, but also for the enrichment of Australia's new cultural traditions...*
> [Beazley 1974:2 and 4 referring to Grassby 1973:5 and 9]

If a multicultural society is not to fragment into introspective and perhaps antagonistic ethnic groups, all groups must be able to co-exist as equals with equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities; they must be encouraged to interact and communicate with each other in the personal, insightful, and understanding way that is possible only if they speak each other's language and understand each other's cultural traditions. If such interaction does occur, then the nature of the society, its ethos and identity, must change as the mores, life-styles, aspirations, and cultures of the groups interact [cf. Grassby 1973b:21]. No living culture is static but is in a constant process of evolution and change. It is clearly desirable that, as it evolves, it should draw on all the resources available to it. The ethnic communities will be able to interact and contribute to each other only when they can feel secure in themselves, when their survival in the total community is not threatened. Thus, in fulfilling its second task of culture transmission, the education system ensures the security of the nation's languages and cultures and, thereby, permits and encourages interaction between the communities. The alternative to this interaction and the pre-requisite security of the cultures, is, on the one hand, an aggressive and ethnocentric monoculturism of the sort implicit in the words of Monk and the Prime Minister quoted above, or, on the other hand, mutual suspicion, antipathy and social fragmentation.

Third, the education system, as is implicit in the first two roles envisaged, must develop in its students cross-cultural attitudes favourable to an harmonious life in the society. Such attitudes will lead to an enrichment of individuals' lives while avoiding the social and national tension that Berry identifies as one (but not inevitable) danger resulting from the conflicting interests of the individual's need for a distinctive identity and the society's need for unity [cf. Berry 1974:17, 21, 22; see also Lambert 1967:231]. The very nature of the society suggests the necessary attitudes: openmindedness, tolerance, acceptance of the right of others to be different, empathy to enable the individual to understand and identify across cultural differences and to accept where he does not understand, and the ability to accept and identify with others as, in this case, Australian even where ancestral linguistic and cultural traditions are different.

In addition, the pluralist, national society is only a microcosm of the pluralist, world society which has been made more compact by fast travel and rapid communications. The attitudinal needs in education for "world citizenship" [cf. Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973a:Par. 3.2] are no different. With the advent of the train and electricity, Gouin [1892:2] called for "a healthy and moral hospitality" to draw nations together. Stern [1968:3] observes that the days of "unilingualism" and "splendid isolation" are past and suggests that only multilingualism can satisfy world communication needs. Johansson [1975:3] similarly stresses the need for cross-cultural understanding, leading to peaceful, harmonious co-existence among people of all nations. Even those who are more conscious of the former remoteness and separateness of individual societies, however, stress this role for language teaching, seeing it as a way of breaking down insularity and isolation in the interest of world citizenship [cf. Penfield 1953:212].

In fulfilling these three tasks, it is the language teaching component of the education system that has, probably, most to contribute. Properly structured [see Chapter Six], it encourages interaction, provides communication skills and cultural understanding, and gives the learner the experience of seeing the world through other eyes, of knowing what it is to belong to a different culture. Rivers has stressed this role for language teaching:

> *As students act out the role of the foreigner, trying to use his language as he would use it and see things as he would see them, reading what he would read, they are able to identify with him in a way which is not possible in a course in social studies or comparative literature in translation. This experience opens the door to a deeper understanding of another culture and a wider tolerance of different ideas and patterns of behaviour.* [Rivers 1968:26]

Lambert and Tucker have also concluded from their attitudinal studies that cross-cultural attitudinal development must be related to language learning. They conclude:

> *...we are convinced that the goal of biculturalism or other culture sensitivity must be linked to the goal of bilingualism.* [Lambert and Tucker 1972:177]

And similarly, the Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs for the Council of Europe stressed the role of language learning in the multicultural European society if favourable relationships between all ethnic groups are to be established:

> *If Europeans are to co-operate 'for the purpose of safe-guarding and realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress', as the Statute of the Council of Europe proclaims, they must improve their means of communicating with one another, and must learn to understand and speak one another's languages to a far greater extent than they have in the past.* [Gorosch, Pottier, and Riddy 1967:6]

Later chapters of this thesis will elaborate on the contribution of language teaching to fostering favourable cross-cultural attitudes. It will also emerge that recognition of the three tasks for the education system in a multicultural society leads ultimately to improved language learning as the teacher is better able to match his methods to insights gained from psycholinguistic studies of language learning strategies.

SOCIAL APATHY TOWARDS FL STUDY

SOCIETY'S EVALUATION OF FL SKILLS

Despite the contribution that FL study can make to modern society, British and Australian societies have distinctly ambivalent attitudes to it. The various reports of the Confederation of British Industry stress that, if a nation wants to influence other peoples, to sell to them, or to match their products and advertising to the market, it must encourage its own people to learn their languages. The Confederation stated as early as 1962:

> *British firms should be aware of the fact that a knowledge of foreign languages forms an important and effective weapon in the armoury of our overseas competitors and that industry and commerce will need in future many more people, at all levels, who are conversant with foreign languages with a reasonable degree of fluency.* [Federation of British Industries 1962:1; cf. 1964:3-10]

Yet the Emmans survey shows that British employers on the whole undervalue FL skills, this being reflected both in monetary terms [Emmans et al. 1974:84] and in the lack of stress employees felt was placed on FL skills in their selection for positions [ibid.:63, 76, 84].

In Australia, a 1977 survey showed that 49% of people thought study of a second language should be compulsory in all schools [Gallup Poll No. 06/4/77], yet we saw earlier the dramatic decline that has occurred in school language enrolments. The same ambivalence is reflected in the fact that, despite the diversity of languages spoken and the acknowledged need for expanded interpreter facilities [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:39-40; Martin 1974:3; Grassby 1974:3], until 1975 no schools or courses for interpreters existed in Australia [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:40], and many public utilities still reject any obligation to employ interpreters or to remunerate them adequately [cf. Garrick 1975]. Similarly, although 93.7% of people surveyed in 1970 agreed that Asian languages should be taught in the schools [Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970:18] and a few organisations heavily involved in trade with Asia thought knowledge of a language to be essential for their staffs, the Commonwealth Advisory Committee reported that

> *almost all businessmen involved in trade with Asia considered that they would have no immediate requirement for staff members fluent in a particular Asian language.* [ibid.:17]

The Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, reflecting on this ambivalence and the small numbers that take Asian languages, observed:

> *...the cause of Asian languages receives more lip-service than real support.* [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:30]

It seems that, despite the multilingual nature of Australian society, despite the growing efforts of migrant groups to encourage interest in their languages and cultures [cf. ibid.:31; Birch et al. 1977], and despite Australia's expanding relations with non-English speaking nations, there remains considerable social apathy towards FL study. This is reflected in the statistics already noted and the Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities believes it to be, in fact, the main cause of the decline in language student numbers:

> *The committee is of the opinion that the most important reason for the decline in language enrolments at all levels lies in the attitude of Australian people towards foreign languages. There seems to be a deep-seated conviction in Australia, strengthened no doubt by our geographical and cultural isolation and our British heritage, that the English language is a sufficient means of communication with the rest of the world, and that the study of other languages therefore lacks relevance.* [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:29]

UNIVERSITIES AS ONE SOURCE OF SOCIAL APATHY

There is, however, evidence that this apparent devaluing of language skills by society, at least as reflected in the demands of industry and commerce, may be caused by the language teaching that goes on rather than by lack of awareness in society of the value of language learning or by any obtuseness on the part of employers. We have seen, for example, the very favourable survey results and, if public attitudes are not to blame for the decline in student numbers, perhaps the nature of the language teaching that goes on is. There is, in fact, evidence that this is so.

First, a 1976 survey in Brisbane [Tataraki and Kantor 1976] showed that the low terminal proficiency level students could expect to reach was the main reason for their opting out of language study. Second, traditional language teaching, especially at tertiary level, has fostered a false notion of what a language is and what language learning is about. As the next chapter will show, advanced language teaching still generally seems to see its objective as the teaching of fine literature and language learning seems mainly intended as a means of gaining access to literature. Inevitably it must seem irrelevant to practical communication needs in society, industry and commerce. Third, whatever other objectives language teaching has, they seem to reduce to the acquisition of the language as an end in itself or, more pessimistically, as the acquisition of skills by which to pass language examinations. This has already been seen in the first two chapters of this thesis and a Scottish Education

Department working party stated:

> *The present purpose of the courses is clear-cut: to obtain the highest possible pass grades in examinations which in the main test written proficiency and grammatical accuracy.* [Scottish Education Department 1970:9]

Fourth, the attitude that regards language virtually as an end in itself disguises its real nature, leads to false expectations in the learners, turns language learning into a specialist activity, and results in courses that are irrelevant to society's needs. Thus, language learning, especially in Australian universities, is rarely seen as providing useful skills to experts in non-language fields (e.g., engineers, architects, sociologists) and students opting for language study remain largely those who want to specialise in it. Similarly, the Emmans report seems to regret that language should be considered ancillary to other skills [e.g., Emmans et al. 1974:48, 84-5] and uses this to conclude that "there is no sound rationale for any type of 'manpower planning' for ancillary subjects such as foreign languages" [ibid.:85]. In addition, the graduates' complaint that there were no career opportunities (except in teaching) based on languages was less frequent only than their complaints about the nature of the language courses they followed [ibid.:46]. However, this expectation is as false as that attitude which makes language learning a specialist activity since both views make language an end in itself instead of a tool ancillary to other skills and used for the achievement of some other end. Seeing language as a tool does not reduce the importance of language learning nor make it relevant to fewer students. Rather, it increases its relevance to students of more diverse interests and emphasizes the need for a radical reorientation of language courses in order to develop practical language skills and any specialist skills needed to meet the student's own interests and vocational pre-occupations.

Fifth, there is evidence that suitable courses create social demand and not only vice versa, i.e., if the courses offered provided more useful and relevant skills, the opportunities to use language skills would increase. In a situation where, for example, employers realise that useful skills in a certain language are not available, it is unlikely that they will expand their business in directions that would make such skills necessary. It seems reasonable to believe that, at Board meetings, if a proposal to extend activities into Area A or Area B is being considered, the availability of personnel to enable the firm to communicate with Area A may play a role in the decision whereas their unavailability for Area B may militate against its being considered. It is a "chicken and the egg" situation but Emmans et al. make a similar suggestion in contrasting the substantial demand for secretaries with language skills with that for other personnel [Emmans et al. 1974:17]; it appears again when they point out the similarity in the rank order of languages taught and languages in use, both overall and regionally [ibid.:82-83]. Furthermore, the correlation between available skills and demand is strongly reflected in the fact that those graduates with relevant skills to offer (the "new" graduates from universities with more innovative courses) tend more readily to find employment in industry and commerce [ibid.:32], tend to make more use of their skills [ibid.:35, 48], and tend to be more frequently involved in those activities requiring greater language proficiency (translation and interpreting, for example) [ibid.:Chapter 3]. The Wiltsey survey [Wiltsey 1972] also found an important correlation between proficiency attained and use of the language by doctoral students in all fields both before and after graduation. Similarly, neither the proficiency levels developed nor the numbers of graduates are sufficient to meet society's needs and, consequently, a certain disinterest in what the language teaching system can offer is to be expected. MacGregor [1975:37](former head of the English translation division of the Commission of the European Communities) has complained forcefully on both issues. Wainwright [1970:190-192] (an education officer for a large industrial concern) pointed out his company's need for language skills from the most senior directors to the technicians and most junior staff but he went on to stringently criticise the proficiency levels available.

In fact, we shall see [pp. 252-262] that too few students graduate with skills developed to a useful level of proficiency and, in such circumstances, a certain apathy in society towards the language skills that the education system offers must be expected.

The pattern of languages studies in Australia is also significant to the question of societal attitudes to language teaching since, despite the drastic overall decline in language enrolments, enrolments in community languages at matriculation actually increased 85.8% from 1967 to 1974 [Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975:18] while at most universities they also sharply increased [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:10, 20, 47]. A similar pattern is observable in Asian languages [loc. cit.]. However, the numbers involved inboth cases are small and have not off-set the overall decline. Nevertheless, they do suggest that there is an interest in languages that are more obviously relevant to Australian society and that meet certain practical needs. By not making those languages more readily available and by not matching content and methods to practical needs, the education system is itself helping to foster the social apathy that has been observed. This view is reinforced by the strong growth observed in private language schools, in ethnic schools, and in the institutes of modern languages that provide part-time, generally non-degree courses in a much wider variety of languages (especially Asian, Pacific, and community languages) than is offered at most universities [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:37-39; Department of Education 1976: 65-67].

One must conclude that the education system as a whole and the universities in particular have an obligation, if they want their students' skills to be valued, first, to recognize the nature of modern society and the centrality of language skills in its harmonious and successful survival; second, to offer languages and courses relevant to society's needs; and, third, to ensure that those students who leave to contribute actively to society do so with relevant and adequate skills and favourable cross-cultural attitudes.

SOCIETY'S SPECIFIC NEEDS

The specific needs of society are obvious from what has preceded. Most fundamental and universal is the need for the development of attitudes favourable to life in a multicultural society and world.

Second, in both Britain and Australia, there is clear evidence that society requires the education system to develop in its members some understanding of foreign cultures and civilisations. In Australia, some 93.6% of people surveyed were in favour of the teaching of Asian studies [Commonwealth Advisory

Committee 1970:18], there is an impressive list of organisations and activities around Australia reflecting an interest in Asian culture [ibid.:13-16], and relevant courses in the schools and universities are proliferating [ibid.:32-34, 47-54]. However, as was discussed earlier [pp. 159 -169], it is unlikely that such courses, devoid of a language component, will meet the real attitudinal needs of the society and there is a lack of such studies relevant to the main community languages and cultures [cf. Matheson 1974]. Similarly, despite the increase in European and "area" studies in British universities [cf. James and Rouve 1973:114-124], there is evidence that society's considerable needs for understanding of foreign civilisations and cultures are not being met [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:86 and 46 and the *Times Educational Supplement* leader, in No. 3146, September 19th, 1975, p.2].

Third, society requires practical skills that will enable the graduate to communicate readily in speech and writing. The Emmans survey showed that the skills in order of frequency of use in industry and commerce in Britain were reading (used by 89% of the employees using a FL), conversation (63%), translation into English (49%), interpreting (35%), writing (23%), and, lastly, translation into the FL (21%) [Emmans 1975 and compare Emmans et al. 1974:83, 68-69, 39]. Similarly, the Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975:32-34] noted the increasing demand for courses focussing on practical skills in Australian universities.

As Emmans found [Emmans et al. 1974:81], it is difficult to specify the level of skills society requires and, in fact, the level will differ widely, according to the individual's needs and interests. Whatever those needs, however, the skills must be developed to a level of minimum practical usefulness if the learner is to be able to use them even in the minimal communication situations of, for instance, a tourist or if he is to be able subsequently to build on them in special intensive or continuation courses to meet new needs. For this reason, Strevens [1968:213] specifies a level of "local acceptability" for the first school exit point but, for tertiary graduates whose expectations and needs will be somewhat greater, the minimum proficiency levels will have to be considerably higher. In industry and commerce, according to Emmans's survey of advertisements, "basic knowledge" (38% of advertisements) and "working knowledge" (56%) are most in demand but the detailed list of activities indulged in [Emmans 1975 and Emmans et al. 1974:39], including, for instance, telephone conversations, correspondence, and reading professional literature, would require at least "Minimum Professional Proficiency" (S-3, R-3) on the FSI scale but desirably, S-4, R-4. Those, such as teachers, who need considerable fluency and accuracy, a native-like proficiency to serve as a model for learners, and familiarity with the FL literature require a level not less than S-4, R-4, desirably rising to R-5.

Such levels as those specified require both general proficiency (i.e., in the "everyday" or non-specialist register) and proficiency in those specialist registers relevant to the student's particular needs and interests. Development of an adequate "general proficiency" will enable him in the future to more readily develop proficiency in any other specialist registers he might require. However, this does not mean that advanced language teaching should be mainly concerned, as it traditionally was, to provide general courses. However FL departments like to see their role, society and the students themselves see tertiary education as being at least in part vocational preparation and, if FL learning is to be relevant, it must enable students to develop facility in those registers they will subsequently use. A similar conclusion emerges even if advanced language learning is seen as a part of general personal development or as preparation for leisure activities. The result, as the Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages has noted [1975:33, 39], would seem to be a proliferation of courses imposing quite unreal demands on the institutions. However, it is a significant problem only if it is seen in terms of traditional, class-oriented, formal teaching. The proposals in this thesis (especially its emphasis on individualization through learner-directed activities) makes the development of proficiency in individually determined registers more practicable.

THE STUDENTS' PERCEIVED NEEDS AND INTERESTS

A JUDICIOUS BALANCE

To some extent, the students' perceived needs and interests will be similar to those perceived by society and those general needs will not be discussed again here. However, the extent to which the education system should be controlled by them does need consideration especially in view of the emphasis given in this thesis to individualization of objectives, course content, and learning procedures.

It was implied in earlier discussions that universities have a leadership role in identifying and answering society's needs [pp. 169-177]. It often seems that adolescents and the popular voices of society see as relevant what satisfies their immediate and perhaps transitory needs. Further, they are more likely to reject as irrelevant those subjects and learning activities which, whatever their actual importance, may be more laborious and provide satisfactions that are less materialistic and immediate. Winkle identifies the problem:

> *The curriculum must at all stages be designed as best it can for the present and future welfare of each individual.*

> *There are those who call for the interests of the student to be paramount, and for the student himself to determine largely the learning experiences that gratify his needs...*
>
> *The most serious shortcoming, educationally, is that this approach is strongly oriented to the maintenance of a society as it is now constituted... It is not a dynamic conception, it is aimed only at individual growth within predetermined patterns of conduct and behaviour.* [Winkle 1973:4]

Nevertheless, the advanced language learner who has chosen to enter a college or university in order to achieve an educational or vocational goal can be assumed to be favourably motivated, to be capable of disciplining himself to achieve long-term objectives, to be endowed with intelligent self-interest, and to be able to recognize (perhaps with sympathetic guidance) those directions in which he needs to develop his skills. In addition, motivational considerations, the insights into the language learning process to be elaborated in Chapter Four, and the broader aims that language learning assumes in a multicultural society emphasize the need to learn language in the course of its purposeful use in response to felt need. Clearly, then, the individual student's learning procedures, needs, and interests must be taken into account and the course that each pursues will result from the intelligent and rational collaboration of teacher and student.

Furthermore, the notion of learning language through its purposeful use (a basic tenet of this thesis [see Chapter Four, pp. 321-325]) enables the teacher's and learners' interests to be reconciled. If the former can, in some sense, be said to focus on the language and the acquisition of its lexis and syntax, it is nevertheless true that most learners are interested in mastery of practical skills, in learning the language not as an end in itself but as a means to some other purpose. The teacher can capitalize on this and give the learner the sense of self-direction and of being engaged in relevant activities for relevant ends if he chooses those activities relevant to each learner through which to teach and practise the language. In effect, several teaching-learning objectives are thus served: the teaching of the language components, mastery of functions, learning through purposeful use of the language, practice in using the language to achieve some desired end, and student self-direction.

Finally, it should also be observed that advanced learners enter tertiary institutions with their own expectations of how to go about learning a language. Often they will already have developed their own efficient language learning methods [cf. Lee 1970:38, 48, 49]. However, they will also have been conditioned by previous, perhaps inefficient, experience. Reed [1971:122] found that although he had abolished proses, his students showed "a widespread nostalgia" for them and others have complained that students wanted their oral drills to be translated [Ross et al. 1967:13]. Carroll [1973a:129] also warns against students' prematurely specializing in one discipline's register before acquiring a "foundation competence" in general vocabulary and syntax. In such circumstances, it is highly desirable that the teacher justify his recommended procedures so as to improve his students' motivation, increase their expectations of success, and ensure their subsequent successful self-direction. In this way, a balance may be reached between the teacher's perception of long-term goals and desirable learning methods and the learner's individually felt and uninformed needs and interests.

PRACTICAL SKILLS OR SCHOLARSHIP

One of the more contentious issues facing advanced language teaching is the conflict sometimes seen between a university's justifiable interest in academic discipline and scholarship and the students' interest in practical skills. However, it would be unduly restrictive to equate academic discipline and scholarship exclusively with the traditional goals and methods of the classical approach to language teaching as implied, for example, by the Committee of Twelve of the M.L.A. in America:

> *If, as we hope, the modern languages are to play an increasingly important and dignified role in our scheme of secondary education; if they are to do what they are capable of doing for the mind and character of the learner, they must be taken very seriously. It is important to aim high.* [Thomas 1900:iv]

And later,

> *The committee hold, however, that...the ability to converse in French or German should be regarded as of subordinate importance...as auxiliary to the higher ends of linguistic scholarship and literary culture...*
>
> *For it must be remembered that the process of learning to speak a foreign language has no educational value except as it is connected with, and grows out of, the improvement of the mind.* [Thomas 1900:12-13]

One would not want to deny the personal and educational value to be derived from academic discipline and scholarship and, despite its interest in practical skills, the Council for National Academic Awards used to require a "cerebration and theory" content in approved language courses [cf. James and Rouve 1973:65]. However, it is false to deny such values to an activity simply because it has utilitarian value. Hence, the CNAA subsequently re-worded its "cerebration and theory" requirement because it tended to devalue language study [Council for National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:Par.5].

This thesis does not intend to reject academic discipline and scholarship. On the contrary, it considers them to be highly desirable attributes of a university education but traditional university language department courses so confused skill development, academic discipline, and educational value that they precluded the first in any meaningful sense and, consequently, discredited the others. If the student is unable to respond directly and sensitively to literary works, his course requirements give him no alternative but to memorize the ideas and opinions of the lecturer or critics; if he cannot think in the FL or have recourse to original materials, his creativity must be minimal. That is, without adequate FL skills (not less than S-3, R-3), the student can acquire only a pseudo-scholarship borrowed from others while the discipline imposed is sterile since it does not lead to systematic, logical, and constructive thinking but to memorization. Thus, the first goal for language learning is to achieve proficiency and the first criterion by which to evaluate a teaching activity is the extent to which it promotes proficiency. Once adequate skills have been developed, then they may be utilized in literary appreciation, aesthetic awareness, or "cerebration and theory" and, in any case, the pursuit of language skills may also teach academic discipline and determination.

Neither linguistic and other scholarship nor academic discipline are necessarily excluded from courses that involve objectives and activities that are practically relevant to the learner and view language and culture in a broad and realistic way. Language learning itself, especially if it is seen as entailing acquisition of a congruent M.O.W., involves a major intellectual re-orientation as one learns to see the world as if through other eyes and to come to grips with another cultural and value system. The CNAA Languages Board [1974:Par.5] acknowledged this in abolishing their "theory and cerebration" requirement and Holland has stated:

> *...a fully developed mastery of language involves making fine distinctions, selecting apt terms, and subjecting an amalgam of ideas, impressions and feelings to the catalyst of a symbolic structure which has grown up within a particular intellectual and aesthetic tradition, all of which is a more truly educational process than the objective study of linguistic structure for itself.* [Holland 1970a:3]

Thus, seeking practical skills is not necessarily in conflict with the traditional values of university courses and development of the former is prerequisite to attainment of the latter. In fact, it is practical skills that advanced students seem primarily to desire.

In the Wiltsey survey of the use of FL's by Ph.D. graduates in the U.S., practical skills (especially reading and translation into the L_1) seemed most highly valued. Commenting, Carroll [1973:123, 129], even though he acknowledged the importance of the "liberal" goals of "a wide appreciation of foreign cultures and philosophies" for the scholar and researcher, stressed pragmatic goals and suggested that any changes in the nature of what is offered should be to develop further the practical skill of reading relevant, scholarly, and scientific writing. Earlier, Carroll [1963:1089; cf. Walker 1973:102-103] had found that College undergraduates most wanted oral communication skills from their courses while other research showed that those in traditional courses were more likely to drop out than those in conversation courses [Carroll 1963:1068]. Anecdotal evidence, confirmed by the report of the Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975:32-34] and Holt's survey [1971], shows that it is practical skills that Australian university students are increasingly demanding. Similarly, in Britain, the Schools Council Sixth Form Survey [1970:192-193] found that, for those students who rated FL's as important, it was their practical values (contribution to future careers and their assistance to specialist subjects) that were most highly rated. Emmans's survey of FL graduates found that those who had followed "new" and more practical courses were significantly more favourably disposed to language learning than the others while those who, with hindsight, would have rejected FL study, stressed their preferences for practical courses [Emmans et al. 1974:38].

It is clearly practical skills that students demand from advanced language study. At the same time as these are developed, the traditional values of higher education may be inculcated. In addition to developing as a student, however, the learner is developing as a personality and advanced language teaching needs to take account of this especially insofar as it affects language-related goals.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

It is very easy in a subject-oriented, classroom-bound education system, to overlook the personality needs of adolescent or adult students. The importance of attitudinal development will be discussed in Chapter Five and will be seen to relate to the intimate interaction between personality and language development. In brief, it will be seen to be essential that the teacher of adolescents and young adults give them the opportunity to use the FL in working out the personality crises that occur at their age (especially the identity and intimacy crises). This will integrate the language and its development within the learner's personality structure and ensure that the language is being practised in motivating contexts relevant to the learner's needs and for the achievement of meaningful goals.

In this chapter, we have examined the FL proficiency of students as they enter tertiary institutions. In so doing, their most frequently recurring errors and deficiencies were identified and their proficiency was specified against the FSI's performance-based scale. Knowledge of the skills advanced students have allowed us to identify what needs have to be met by advanced courses aimed at rapidly developing native-like proficiency. The nature of future courses will be determined also by the students' other needs and interests and the needs of the society in which he lives. These were discussed in the latter part of the chapter. If advanced language teaching is to be improved, some assessment must be made of the extent to which existing advanced courses meet the needs. Consequently, the next chapter will survey existing advanced courses and then assess their suitability in the light of the needs identified in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CURRENT STATE OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING

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THE PATTERN OF COURSES

INTRODUCTION

Although the range of students for which tertiary institutions have to cater has increased greatly in recent decades[1] and although the needs of society and of the students have changed rapidly as a result of changing world and social situations and of new understanding of the nature of language, tertiary language *teaching* seems to have changed relatively little. There has been much discussion of changed needs and approaches and even some attemps to diversify course types and activities (especially in the polytechnics and newer British universities) but there have been few thorough-going reappraisals such as have occurred in elementary language teaching. Consequently, the distinctive nature, objectives, content, methods, and techniques of advanced language teaching have survived relatively unchanged. Those innovations that have occurred, while generally laudable in themselves, have tended to be superficial, leaving the central teaching-learning process unaltered: so far as language *learning* is concerned, it seems to be a question of the same things in a different garb.

---

(1) Britain with a population of 49,217,000 in 1946 had a university enrolment for 1946-47 of 103, 081. By 1972, the population was up 13.4% to 55,793,000 but university enrolments were up 132.2% to 239,366 (for 1972-73) with another 34,091 students doing CNAA degree work [Central Statistical Office 1952:7, 102; 1974:7, 119, 127]. Similarly, Australia with a population of 10,391,920 in 1960 had a university enrolment of 53,780 [Archer 1962:288, 606]. By 1975, the population was up 30.9% to 13,600,924 but university enrolments were up by 175.8% to 148,338 with another 122,557 students in C.A.E.'s [Cameron 1977:138, 667, 669].

The present writer's own experience of advanced language teaching in Australia and discussion with teachers and lecturers both there and in Britain support this opinion and its validity can be inferred from a statement in 1975 by the Professor of Italian at Sydney University:

> *...it's always wise to remember that (whatever else you may rejoicingly encourage a student to learn) you must keep him or her well into the literature. Abstract social studies is death by waffle.*
>
> *We suffer quite enough from the illiteracy of those who pride themselves on knowing little about English literature while falsely claiming to be able to speak English.* [May 1975:14]

Further confirmation is found in the publication and re-publication of such course books as *A New Advanced French Course* [Whitmarsh and Jukes 1971] whose *Modern Languages* reviewer felt confident enough to state as recently as 1973:

> *There is no substitute in attaining language excellence for the twin exercises of thème and version, allied to regular study of grammar and the writing of compositions.* [*Modern Languages:* Vol. LIV, 1973, p.198]

The chapter headings of this course (French Prose Passages, French Poetry, Practice Sentences, English Prose Passages, Free Composition, Grammar) reveal its approach as traditional grammar-translation-literature and its claim to being "new" lies solely in the selection of modern authors whose works provide the texts for prose translation:

> *The modernity of the new course is again illustrated by the fresh authors in the section containing English Prose Passages for translation...*

> *However the section begins with ten specially composed pieces containing basic difficulties of grammar, before the real meat of literature is served up.* [ibid.:197-198]

Yet, though the use of modern authors makes the data temporally more relevant, it in no way alters the fallacious learning premises on which the teaching is based. If this attitude is typical (and we shall see that it undoubtedly is in most Australian universities and colleges and in the "conventional university courses" in Britain [cf. James and Rouve 1973:96-107]), then advanced language teaching is still seen as a process in which the teacher "pours in" passive knowledge, language use is equated with solving conundrums rather than spontaneous personal expression and comprehension, and the teacher's real interest is teaching the literary language. Evans, after an extensive survey of British universities, found only five that had departed significantly from the prose tradition and concluded:

> *...the tradition of prose translation is still going strong. Some progress seems to have been made since my own days when passages for translation inhabited a pastoral world of spumy waterfalls, deep gorges and ale in pewter mugs. But translations are still almost exclusively literary, and alternatives to this traditional activity are very much the exception.*
>
> *Here we have a perfect example of a tradition in education and an illustration...of how little this tradition has been eroded in spite of vast changes in society and in our concept of language.* [Evans 1973:14]

Furthermore, despite the rapid changes that have apparently occurred in some courses, especially in polytechnics [cf. Council for National Academic Awards 1974:1], and in the more progressive and, generally, newer universities, it is very difficult to determine how much change has taken place in actual teaching and learning methods. One has, in fact, little choice but to use anecdotal evidence and to look at assessment procedures on the assumption that teaching and learning methods are selected to enhance the student's chances of examination success or that the examinations reflect the objectives and methods of the course. Reed [1971:118] found similar difficulty and also concluded that methods remained largely traditional with heavy emphasis on translation, prose composition, essay writing,and some conversation (though the last is still not compulsory in some universities). Translation both ways remains almost universal in terminal examinations [cf. Evans 1973; James and Rouve 1973: 16-35, 80-92, 96-130] and was strongly supported by language teachers in answer to a Joint Matriculation Board questionnaire. 85% of teachers opposed the exclusion of proses from examinations and 95% wanted FL-L_1 translation used for testing comprehension [Christopher 1973:84-86]. Despite superficial changes to language courses, translation remains, in fact, the major strategy used in advanced language teaching in Britain [cf. Wexler 1966; Farrington 1972; Evans 1973].

In Australia, the situation is no less rigid. Anecdotal evidence together with perusal of the examinations set confirm that prose composition, FL-L_1

translation and essay-writing remain the major teaching, learning, and testing techniques. Though the Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities was not explicit on the classroom methods used (a common failing with the surveys referred to in this chapter), the criticism currently being made is implicit in the Committee's censure of the lack of pedagogical training amongst university language teachers and the conservative approach that results from it [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:29].

In general, except in the more innovative British courses, one must conclude that the objectives and methods adopted are little different from those outlined by the Committee of Twelve of the M.L.A. in America when they named the objectives as "the higher ends of linguistic scholarship and literary culture", rejected oral skills, endorsed translation as the access to the classics, and recommended the style of written masterpieces as the models for language learning [Thomas 1900; cf. Lado 1971:405-406].

The most adequate recent survey of tertiary curricula, that by James and Rouve [1973], does not paint so black a picture but the authors' brief did not include university courses of the "conventional language and literature type" [cf. James and Rouve 1973:63]. In addition, the vocation-oriented tradition of polytechnics have led them to offer courses that move the focus from the language to its use, integrate the FL with other disciplines, especially in business and commerce, and emphasize the development of practical skills and special marketable functions. This influence is not present in the older universities or in Australian institutions and, in any case, the criticisms of the "new" graduates in the Emmans survey suggest that actual methods have changed less than course design [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:46]. Thus, although superficial changes have occurred favouring current language, authentic materials and, sometimes, new course types, the influence of tradition remains strong and there is little evidence of any significant change in central learning activities.

CONFUSION IN THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR EXISTING METHODS

A coherent theoretical basis for much of what happens in advanced language teaching is hard to find. Tradition has had a powerful influence and much has survived through failure to re-examine advanced learning systematically [cf. Van Passel 1974:45]. Gouin, as long ago as 1880, complained in similar terms about precisely the same methods as we find in many university and college courses today:

> *The truth is, that a large part of the present teaching not only cannot be authorized upon any real pedagogic principle, but violates at pleasure the least controvertible prescriptions, not only of science, but of ordinary common-sense. The art of teaching languages, therefore, calls imperatively for a reform.* [Gouin 1892:127]

Much existing practice seems, in fact, to be based on such vague values as academic discipline, scholarship, and "culture" which, however admirable in themselves, are not placed in a coherent taxonomy of objectives, skill development, and needs and result in a set of apparently *ad hoc* and inappropriate activities that preclude effective development of language proficiency. Even the Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities is in danger of this when they say:

> *Most academics still believe, however, that at the university level practical language study must remain closely linked with the study of the culture associated with the language, a view with which the committee strongly agrees.* [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33]

The view of language presented in this thesis suggests that you cannot teach language without teaching culture - though you might teach verbal algebra. Such a statement as that quoted has traditionally interpreted culture narrowly as "fine literature" with the result already seen that skill development is confused with the premature application of that skill in a context (viz., literary appreciation) whose very nature requires considerable language development. Thus some of the difficulties that have existed at the advanced level arise from the fact that there has been no systematic study of the language that students bring to university and, therefore, no informed basis on which to develop expectations made of their language skills [cf. Blanc 1966]. Rather, they are based on such assumptions as "They have their Senior: they ought to be able to read Molière", "Any First Year ought to be able to write a coherent essay", "A student ought to know all the rules in Mansion's Grammar by this stage", or "They've had the work: errors are only carelessness" [cf. also Wexler 1966]. When it is found that, in fact, the students' language is insufficient to cope, the reaction is to "plod on" persevering with the meticulous correction of numerous prose errors in rules, often of low generality and little semantic significance [cf. Wexler 1966], or to "plunge in" [cf. Evans 1971:2], steeping the learner in incomprehensible literature or lecturing in the FL on literary topics. Both actions are motivated by a belief in a *bain de français* approach without, in fact, examining the total situation sufficiently closely.

If the *bain de français* approach has value, it is because it provides much language experience, the learner is using the language actively, and, in this way, something like an L_1 learning situation is approximated. However, the reality is very different and the belief that a *bain de français* of this sort is provided is unjustified. Thus, for instance, prose work is passive in the sense that the learner is not expressing ideas he has initiated, much of the effort is directed to activities (such as turning over pages of a dictionary) of little or no learning significance, and the amount of language experience he has in the time available is much less than is possible through other activities. Rather than "drown" in a sea of incomprehensible or, at least, unappreciated literature, the learner would experience more language, more fruitfully, if his reading was of intrinsically more accessible material or his language experience was more contextualized to facilitate perception of meaning and to provide those dimensions of meaning gained from social and environmental interaction which literature subsumes. In brief, the theoretical basis of much existing language teaching is hard to find or is confused and inconsistent.

This criticism of the theoretical basis of much advanced language teaching receives some justification in the M.L.A.'s 1965 study of FL teacher preparation in the U.S. where the "intellectual and spiritual values" espoused by advanced language courses were commendable enough but practical skills were left seriously deficient [Axelrod 1967:2]. Similar deficiencies occur in some of the courses detailed by James and Rouve, in particular, the "Conventional University Courses"[1973:96-107] which, like those in the M.L.A. study, could be criticized for premature literary expectations and the use of traditional grammar-translation methods. Some, at least, of the newer courses are equally inconsistent. Thus, one "Combined Honours" course [James and Rouve 1973:112-113] aims at providing scientists and technologists with practical language skills, claims to use audiolingual learning methods, and teaches civilisation and culture in the broadest sense. Nevertheless, it places considerable emphasis at all levels on translation both ways and essay-writing in both examinations and, presumably, teaching methods. It may well be that the requirement that the student spend two months in the C_2 will remedy some of the defects in practical skills that must result from such methods but this should hardly be the function of the period abroad and, in any case, this need highlights the incongruity between methods and objectives. Similar theoretical and practical inconsistencies appear in courses where interpreting is taught appropriately at the end of the course after adequate language proficiency has been developed but translation both ways occurs from the First Year. If translation were being taught as a special function, L_1-FL translation could desirably be dispensed with for reasons already discussed [Chapter Two, pp. 57-61] and its occurrence in First Year is clearly inappropriate since FL development is unlikely to be adequate, it will be used as a teaching-learning strategy, and will result in those adverse features discussed in Chapter Two [pp. 57-59].

Clearly, the theoretical rationale of many advanced courses and its practical outcome are confused. Similarly, there seems to be some confusion over the language that should be offered to the students.

REGISTER CHOICE

The language that is taught to advanced students in existing courses is already clear from what has preceded. The more conventional courses continue to focus on the formal, literary language although there is an increasing number of courses in Australia and, more especially, Britain which aim at developing facility in other registers[1] [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33 and 34; James and Rouve 1973:108-130]. Most of the newer British courses (especially the "Language and Science" and "Area and European Studies" courses [e.g., James and Rouve 1973:108-127]) develop facility in the "context" of the life and institutions of the C_2 but, in addition, in a specialist context relevant to the learner's interests, e.g., some field of science or technology [ibid.:111], linguistics [ibid.:111], or in some specialist social science or humanities field [e.g., idid.:116, 118, 122]. Nevertheless, there remains a strong residue of feeling that the proper concern of tertiary foreign language classes is the formal written and literary language. This is illustrated by May's views [quoted p.194], by the often acrimonious debate pursued through the columns of the

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(1) The discussion on p.139 concerning the characteristics and diversity of the "literary register" should be borne in mind.

Times Higher Education Supplement in early 1975, and by the number of "conventional" university courses in Britain and their predominance in Australia [e.g., ibid.:96-107; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33; Bostock 1974:14, 17; Chamberlain 1975:27-30].

The preference given to this one register of the language affects the material to be given to the student, the teaching activities engaged in, and the attitude to what language learning is about. First, it devalues the oral language, everyday modes of expression, and student self-expression and uses the translation approach so as to ensure that the students are studying sufficiently "high-grade" language [cf. Holland 1970a:1]. However, because of the inadequate stage of development of the learner's language, it is not "high-grade" language he practises since the very characteristics that make the language he has to translate "high-grade" also ensure that the language of his FL translation will be considerably inferior. The proliferation of errors that results leads to a focus on correcting errors rather than communication or expression and this reinforces the case for prose translation as one way of casting a net in which to catch the learner's errors. Thus, language learning becomes a process of making, correcting, re-making and slowly eliminating errors in the application of cryptographic rules until formally correct, discrete sentences are produced. The spontaneous production of language for self-expression receives litle attention and we saw in examining the language of learners at matriculation that the transfer from prose to free expression is not great [cf. pp. 127-133].

The Report of the Committee of Twelve of the M.L.A. [Thomas 1900] well illustrates how register choice and attitude to what language study is about mutually affect each other. Concentration on the formal literary register is rationalised through prose translation despite the failure to produce real language skills. Reference is made to "discipline", "steady application", and development of the "analytic and reflective faculties" [ibid.:7-8], to the "importance [attached] .. to linguistic discipline and literary culture" [ibid.:11] and to faith in the "improvement of the mind" [ibid.:13].

The attitude that leads to preference for the literary register also influences the languages chosen. Preference is given to those languages whose literary culture has traditionally been admired.

FL's TAUGHT

We have already seen [pp. 162-164] that, in Australia, the choice of languages remains rather narrow, with French and German predominating, although the nation's ethnic structure, its political, geographical, and commercial relationships, and the expressed interest of its people as seen in changes in class sizes, surveys and the demand for part-time language classes [e.g., Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970:18; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:37-39] suggest that community and Asian and Pacific languages ought to receive more attention [see also Gallup Poll No. 06/4/77].

One of the causes of the reluctance to diversify the languages offered was the factor just discussed, viz., the over-valuing of the literary, especially western literary, tradition. The accepted aim of language teaching was to provide access to the great literatures of the world (assumed to be Greek, Latin, English, French and German) while Asian languages, some of which (like Indonesian) had a written tradition of relatively recent origin, were held to be without worthwhile literatures. Although there may be some justification in the claim that Australia's main cultural traditions are European in origin and that, therefore, European languages and cultures should be taught, to deny equal literary or cultural value to Asian and Pacific languages is unjustifiable and perpetuates the narrow view of "culture" and the reason for language study discussed above. Nevertheless, it is a view that Wykes [1966:14] found to be strongly supported in her survey and it has long retarded the growth of these languages in Australian schools and universities [cf. Commonwealth Advisory Committee

1970:46, 89, 90; Grassby 1974:3].

Clearly, the choice of language and of register is influenced by and, in practice, influences the objectives sought in tertiary language teaching.

OBJECTIVES

We have already seen [pp. 47 -70] that the traditional goals of academic discipline, linguistic scholarship, literary appreciation, and development of an aesthetic sense remain firmly entrenched and are accompanied by a devaluing of practical skills, which causes insufficient attention to be given to the prior development of language proficiency. Such goals remain in the conventional language courses at, especially, the older British universities [cf. James and Rouve 1973:96-107] and most Australian universities [cf. Bostock 1974:14; Chamberlain 1975].

The change in the role of FL teaching and learning in the light of the changed world and social situation [see pp. 159 -190], the increase in the number of students at universities and colleges, and the consequent diversification of the needs and interests to be met necessarily entail a radically different set of objectives from those envisaged in the pre-war years or by the Committee of Twelve. The retention of objectives of basically this same sort in many Australian language departments [cf. Bostock 1974; Chamberlain 1975], undoubtedly helps to explain the dramatic decline in student numbers already noted [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:47-64]. The 22% decline in student enrolments in May's department in the two years 1971-73 [ibid.:59] hardly justifies his confidence in the worth of the literary tradition in FL teaching [see p.194]. In contrast, Monash University's French Department reported "dramatic improvement" in year-to-year retention rates[1] after diversifying their options and, hence, their objectives, to include practical goals and non-literary options and to respond to students' felt needs [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33].

Some courses do, however, envisage as the first objective a high level of practical proficiency to enable the language to be used as a tool for study in other fields (e.g., science, technology, social science) or for whatever practical activities may be relevant to the learner (e.g., travel, business, commercial translation or interpreting). It is also taught as a means, in conjunction with the study of the FL culture in its broadest sense, to an understanding of the FL people and their way of life. Such courses include, in particular, the "Combined Honours" courses, Area and European Studies, and Applied Languages courses of the newer British universities

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(1) Monash French Department's decline in enrolments in the period 1971-73 was 6% [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:53] while comparison of the tables on ibid., pp. 53-54 shows an overall increase in enrolments after First Year of almost 20%.

[James and Rouve 1973:108-130] and a very few courses in some, especially Asian, language departments in Australia [e.g., Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33; Bostock 1974; Chamberlain 1975:27].

The diversity of objectives will be seen in more detail in the next section as a comprehensive survey is made of the courses in British and Australian tertiary institutions.

COURSES OFFERED

INTRODUCTION

Some indication of the types of courses currently in existence has emerged in the preceding discussion. There remain, in Australia and in the more traditional British universities, many conventional language and literature courses [James and Rouve 1973:96-107; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33; Bostock 1974:14; Chamberlain 1975:27]. Nevertheless, rapid changes have been occurring with emphasis seeming to move to the useful development of the macroskills, to facility in a wide range of registers determined by the student's personal, academic, or vocational interests, to the integration of language study in other activities, and to acquisition of useful language functions. To what extent all these changes have been real rather than token will emerge in the discussion that follows.

OVERVIEW. Some of the more innovative courses occur in the British polytechnics, perhaps because their traditional vocational orientation has encouraged them to focus on practical language skills and the use to be made of the language rather than on the language itself [cf. Beard 1975:8]. In addition, they have to meet the guidelines laid down by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) [1974], which specifically encourages innovation in FL teaching [ibid.:Par. 2]. Although the CNAA permits "conventional language and literature" courses (which, nevertheless, it believes have scope for new approaches), it places great stress on development of the language to a "threshold of minimum usefulness" [ibid.:Pars. 2 and 5.2.4] and on the development of other skills and knowledge in conjunction with and through the FL [ibid.:Pars. 5.2.2 and 5.2.3]. Thus, special language functions may be acquired, some of the linguistic sciences may be explored, or aspects of the culture (in the broadest sense) of the C_2 may be examined. Integrated studies (such as can be achieved through a well-mounted "Area Studies" course) are especially favoured since, in such courses, the language plays a central and integrating role. Recommending a fully integrated course, the CNAA Languages Board has stated:

> *Perhaps the most effective integration is achieved where a course is based on a study of a given linguistic society, in such a way that the material used in the language performance component is drawn from aspects of all the other contributory disciplines, whether economic, geographic, historical, literary, political or social. In this way the language element can be seen to act as a genuine integrating factor.* [ibid.:Par. 6.3]

The emphasis the CNAA has placed on thorough development of practical skills is exemplified in their requirement that FL students spend at least six consecutive months in the country of each language studied or one academic year if only one FL is taken.

The analysis of the CNAA courses by James and Rouve [1973:66-92] shows them falling into four broad groups: Applied Modern Languages, Single Language Studies, Combined Studies, and Miscellaneous Studies.

APPLIED MODERN LANGUAGES. In the "Applied Modern Languages courses" [ibid.:66], students study one or more FL's but the bulk of the time and assessment is given to the language component of the course (rather than to, say, political studies). Facility is developed in all four macroskills, in the non-specialist register, in certain special "contexts" (such as the life and institutions of the C_2, business and commerce, and economic theory), and in certain functions (such as translation or interpreting) [cf. ibid.:66, 71-73, 80-86].

SINGLE LANGUAGE STUDIES. "Single Language Studies" [ibid.:66, 71-72, 86-90] are virtually Area Studies focussing on one language and its civilisation. James and Rouve liken these to conventional language and literature courses but with the literature replaced wholly or partly by other studies, especially social sciences. Less emphasis falls on language than in the first group and consequently facility in special language functions is not developed. The courses aim at providing a thorough understanding of the country and its people and at developing language skills in the non-specialist register (though some facility in contexts relevant to the non-language studies such as literature, geography or a science should also be attained [ibid.:66 and 86-90]). They give, generally, a broad coverage of the "civilisation" including most of philosophy, history, literature, economics, institutions, politics, sociology, geography, and linguistics.

Such courses provide an excellent opportunity for thorough language development with the language being integrated with concept formation and being used as a tool to acquire knowledge and academic discipline. They probably provide a more general language and cultural development than do the first group but, lacking attention to functions, they seem less specific in their vocational orientation though they provide suitable background for teaching and commerce.

These courses should meet many of the criticisms the graduates in the Emmans survey raised concerning inadequate practical proficiency, insufficient knowledge about the C_2, and an over-emphasis on literature [Emmans et al. 1974:46]. Nevertheless, some queries still arise. For instance, it is unclear how much of the non-language work is lectured and studied in the FL, a highly desirable procedure in order for the language to be learned through purposeful use and for the language and conceptual structure to be integrated. However, if this does happen, then one must ask (a) to what extent the central target of the course is language proficiency (in which case lower academic attainment in the non-language studies is acceptable) or (b) whether language skills are adequately developed to enable worthwhile academic achievement in the non-language subjects to take place. It would seem desirable (in view of the language proficiency matriculants bring from Secondary School) for a change in the balance of these courses to occur so that language learning is emphasized in the First Year and proficiency is rapidly increased. The First Year should also contain a cross-section of the other subjects in order to introduce the registers needed for later academic study, to promote integration of the FL and concepts, to develop an understanding of the C_2, and to encourage the purposeful use of the language. After a proficiency of S-3, R-3 has been reached, the other disciplines can receive more emphasis, the FL being now adequate to sustain intensive study and to be a medium for academic discipline and scholarship.

COMBINED STUDIES. The third group, "Combined Studies" [ibid.:66-67, 79, 90-91], places less emphasis on language (which is seen as giving access to the culture of the peoples and as a tool for handling FL sources). These courses are concerned mainly with groups of subjects applied to a particular area. Thus, in one such course, the core, rather than being language, is economics, geography, history, and politics applied to Europe while one European language is studied to a level that will, hopefully, give a high standard of comprehension and a "reasonable active command" [ibid.:90]. In the final examination, language is only one of eight papers. The methodological queries to be raised shortly apply equally here and, since the language has a more subsidiary role, a lower proficiency level is likely to be attained.

MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES. In "Miscellaneous Studies" courses [ibid.:66, 79, 92], language generally has a still more subsidiary role and is seen as a tool for an expert in another field (e.g., engineering, marketing, librarianship, a science) or it is taught for general cultural purposes. In most courses, the FL is optional (though not in one on international marketing). Generally, all four macroskills are developed as well as facility in the non-specialist register and relevant special contexts. However, in view of the findings of the Emmans survey [e.g., Emmans et al. 1974:40-41, 68-69, 83; and pp. 177-181], some imbalance occurs in skill-weightings since written composition is apparently more highly valued in tests (and, presumably, teaching) than reading, speaking or listening [James and Rouve 1973:92].

COMMENT. On the whole, the CNAA courses in FL's seem to be innovative and practical in design, they have a broad concept of the nature of language and its relationship with culture and civilisation, and they teach language as a tool to be used to attain some desired end rather than as an end in itself. However, even such notions and the implicit objectives can be vitiated in the classroom if methods are not equally as progressive. In fact, it is difficult to establish what, exactly, the methods are but, extrapolating from the tests used, one can surmise that they are not as innovative as course outlines would lead one to expect. Though the CNAA Languages Board [1974:Par. 8] has surprisingly little to say about teaching methods, about what happens in the classroom once the course design has been approved, it does voice concern about assessment procedures and appeals for further innovation in them.

Almost universally and whether or not translation is envisaged as a special "function" to be mastered, the examinations contain a large translation component, generally approaching 50% [e.g., James and Rouve 1973:82, 83, 84]. Although the FL-L_1 translation is a commercially valuable function [cf. Emmans 1975;

Emmans et al. 1974:40] and hence a justifiable objective skill to develop, L_1-FL translation is much less in demand [loc. cit.] and, as we have seen, is not approved by the Institute of Linguists' code of professional conduct [Institute of Linguists 1974:12]. The traditional use of translation in testing and teaching does not ensure its mastery as a specialized function. Such a skill can be developed only after high level proficiency in both languages has been achieved, as well as sensitivity to register variations and style, a thorough appreciation of both cultures, and acquisition of the models of the world of the writer and both sets of readers [cf. James and Rouve 1973:5, 14; Nida 1975]. In many of these courses and probably in the first years of all of them, translation cannot reasonably be envisaged as a special function but can only exist as an undesirable teaching, learning, and testing strategy [cf. pp. 55 - 59]. Similarly, even though most courses envisage high level development of all four macroskills, "graphic composition" (i.e., writing) is commonly weighted much more highly than reading, speaking or listening. Thus, one course gives 60% to 70% to writing and from 7% to 11% to each of the other skills, with serious implications for the methodological foci of the course [James and Rouve 1973:85]. Such weightings in assessment and methods are difficult to justify. It is, in fact, incongruous that, as this thesis will illustrate, social, psycholinguistic, and methodological considerations would lead one to stress the students' active oral use of the FL and extensive listening and reading, the Emmans survey places these as the most highly valued skills [Emmans et al. 1974: 40-41, 68-69, 83], and yet they rank last or second last in testing (and, presumably, teaching) priority in almost all the CNAA courses. This provides some justification to graduates' complaints that the spoken language is neglected (despite the apparently innovative course designs) [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:46].

Certain other exercises and assessment procedures also seem unsound or confused and there often seems to be a failure to distinguish between a desirable teaching technique and an appropriate test type. Précis-writing illustrates the dilemma. It is often used as a FL writing exercise instead of prose translation. As such an exercise, it is useful since it gives guided writing practice, practises reading comprehension at varying levels, and gives guided practice in use of the FL thought sequence, discourse and macro-structuring. It can also be used to lead into the useful functions of summarizing and report-writing. However, as a test type it is less satisfactory since, if it is meant to test "graphic composition", it necessarily pre-supposes that the student's reading comprehension has been sound, and vice versa.

The comments made earlier about the use of the FL in ancillary studies are generally applicable. It is unfortunate that most courses do not provide more intensive language work in the First Year and then, perhaps, reduce the hours involved in formal language training later. Such an approach would capitalize on the greater efficiency of more intensive courses as well as rapidly raise the students' proficiency to levels where more worthwhile academic work in the other fields could be achieved through the FL while FL learning was still being promoted through that use of the language. Some courses [e.g., James and Rouve 1973:87 and, catering for beginners, 88] do provide a few extra hours in the First Year but many do not and some provide their most intensive language study in the last year [ibid.:87].

In general, the breadth of the CNAA courses, their integration of the FL with other studies, their concept of language as a tool to be used, and their professed emphasis on practical skills are characteristics wholly to be approved. However, in pursuing these overall objectives into classroom practice and, hence, into teaching, testing, and learning strategies, problems seem to arise and there seems to be some inability to develop activities that will match the general aspirations and what is now known about language learning. There is, also, little indication that individual needs are being catered for in objectives, content, and more especially, learning procedures. In other words, despite some interesting and highly desirable approaches to course design, the concept remains of language teaching and learning as a class activity in which the lecturer transmits traditional knowledge (here selected from more diverse fields than usual) by traditional means to classes of largely passive recipients, and then tests to establish the point to which their "empty space" of consciousness has been filled with the transmitted knowledge [cf. Freire 1970:26]. It is an élitist view of knowledge and especially of language learning in which the teacher is the sole repository of knowledge and reduces successful language learners to those few who master the established system. This approach reinforces the "specialist" view of language learning which, in Australia at least, erects boundaries around language study isolating it from other, even culturally related, disciplines [cf. Bostock 1974], and drastically reduces the number of students who see FL study as relevant to them or as an activity in which they can succeed. Bate has expressed it well:

> *L'un des principes fondamentaux qui devrait, il me semble, présider à tout enseignement...est le suivant: que tous les enfants doivent avoir accès au savoir, et qu'en conséquence nos méthodes ne doivent pas éloigner l'étudiant de son sujet d'étude, ne doivent pas non plus faire croire qu'il y a des clés que seuls les "happy few", l'élite, possèdent et dont ils connaissent le maniement... C'est pourquoi l'enseignement des langues vivantes, après avoir trop longtemps subi l'oppression des méthodes héritées du latin et du grec (traduction), fait appel depuis quelques années à une recherche directe de l'enfant, lui laissant une large part d'initiative, faisant appel à sa spontanéité, à l'expression directe de ses intérêts.* [Bate 1974:1]

This élitest, passive, and "digestive" [Freire 1970:26] view of language knowledge cannot be sustained within the rationale of this thesis and impairs what seem otherwise to be excellent courses by undermining their core, the learning process itself. However, this deficiency is not unique to CNAA courses and occurs, often more severely, in university courses.

BRITISH UNIVERSITY COURSES

OVERVIEW. In general, British universities seem more loath to experiment and innovate in language teaching than are the polytechnics [cf. James and Rouve 1973:94], this conservatism being evident in both course design and, of more fundamental importance, methods. Many of the courses in the older universities remain of the traditional language and literature type while similar conventional courses also occur in many newer universities. In the James and Rouve survey, it is especially the former technological and commercial colleges that have left the traditional approach and offer courses more like those in the polytechnics. Such courses have often been developed on a more rational basis and are virtually the only ones that give evidence of precise formulation of objectives, programmes, and teaching plans [cf. ibid.:94]. The existence of such a rationale is likely to make courses more coherent and progressive but also more flexible and subject to change as improved understanding is gained of the fundamental principles on which language teaching must be based. Perhaps it is significant that, as colleges, the newer universities would previously have had to justify their courses to the CNAA, a demanding accrediting body which rejected 28 of 47 proposed courses from 1965 to 1971 [cf. ibid.:64].

University courses fall into two broad types: (i) traditional language and literature or language and humanities courses and (ii) more innovative courses which vary in diverse ways but differ from the first group especially by their focus on practical skills, their relations with other disciplines, or their attention to special language contexts and functions. James and Rouve observe one common factor in all the courses, viz., the possibility for the language component to be only one (often subsidiary) part of a course whose principal focus is elsewhere, on literature (in traditional courses) or linguistics, engineering, Area Studies, or some non-language field (in others).

TRADITIONAL COURSES. These "conventional university courses" [James and Rouve 1973:93, 96-107] are the most numerous, teach language and literature (though the latter may be replaced wholly or partly by such humanities subjects as history and philosophy), and use the two techniques of translation and essay-writing as testing (and teaching) devices without this indicating functional training [cf. ibid.:93]. The four macro-skills are developed within the non-specialist register though some experience of the language in the context of the literature or humanities subjects studied will also occur. The balance of the skills is difficult to specify but it is clear that reading and writing take precedence over oral skills. Except where intended for beginners, most courses assume that the student enters university with sufficient language proficiency to cope with literature, an assumption we have already seen to be unjustified [pp.138-143]. One notable exception is a course that provides, in the First Year, intensive language laboratory drills to remediate errors, increase vocabulary, differentiate written and spoken registers, and increase oral fluency [James and Rouve 1973:101]. The fact that much of the lecturing and discussion of literary texts is done in English indicates the insufficiency of students' language proficiency for literary study. The prevalence of this practice is confirmed by much anecdotal evidence as well as by University of Reading Department of French Studies 1966, Ross et al. 1967, and Chamberlain 1975:27. It is also doubtful (as the Emmans survey confirms [Emmans et al. 1974:46]) whether sufficient attention is given in most courses to the general culture and civilisation of the C_2 in order to achieve essential concept development, to integrate the FL and the learner's model of the world and develop fluent language skills, or to achieve literary appreciation.

LANGUAGE AND SCIENCE. The non-traditional courses divide into five groups. The first [James and Rouve 1973:94-95;

108-113] combines a language with scientific study to enable the graduate to be trained as a scientist or technologist and also to gain a sound working knowledge of a FL. The relationship between the language and non-language components varies from fully integrated [e.g., ibid.:110-111] to two separate subjects taken to degree level [ibid.:109-110]. Most courses require time to be spent in the C_2 and usually in a relevant industry there. They aim, in general, to develop high level performance in all four macroskills with proficiency in the non-specialist register, in the relevant scientific or technological contexts, and in the life and institutions of the C_2. In some courses, some functional training is also given in report-writing, translation, and interpreting.

The objectives implied here are worked through with varying success. Few courses provide the intensive initial language teaching needed to raise proficiency to a level that will make it a useful tool in other study and one postpones all language work for most of the First Year [ibid.:113]. Many courses seem to give undue and premature emphasis to translation even when it is not being taught as a special function while essay-writing is generally still preferred to the more relevant letters, summaries, and (especially for such courses as these) reports [e.g., ibid.:109-110, 112].

AREA AND EUROPEAN STUDIES. The term "Area Studies" is applied to courses that study a FL within the context of other disciplines (perhaps including literature, the humanities, and social sciences). They usually focus around one country [ibid.:95, 114-119]. "European Studies" courses are similar but relate either to the whole of Europe or to Western or Eastern Europe and generally include more than one language [ibid.:95, 119-124]. The actual courses differ quite widely but, in general, they match the objectives as stated in one prospectus:

> *...[the courses'] practical aim is to furnish industry, commerce, the professions, public and international organizations etc. with graduates who are highly skilled in the use of foreign language [sic], have a thorough knowledge of the region where that language is spoken, have specialized in a special study of contemporary vocational significance and have been trained to apply this to their language area...*
>
> *...The combination of languages with regional and special studies is designed to give students the opportunity to improve their linguistic skills by learning to use their language as a research tool, while at the same time acquiring the ability to study their main area of interest in some depth.* [Quoted in James and Rouve 1973:118]

All courses aim at high level proficiency in the four macroskills, in the non-specialist register, and in relevant specialist contexts, as well as at some functional development (especially in translation, interpreting, and summarizing). The intention in every course is that the FL be used as a tool giving access to FL sources and more complete understanding of the country being studied. However, the problem of ensuring early in the course that the pre-requisite

FL proficiency exists is rarely solved. One course, for instance, specifies that all classes will be held in the FL but no attempt is apparently made to provide more intensive work in the first months to ensure that matriculants are sufficiently proficient to avoid an excessive burden or the fixation of bad reading habits (e.g., translation) as the only way to cope with the reading load. Consequently, significantly lower levels of academic achievement seem likely to result [ibid.:123-124].

These courses largely resemble the "Single Language Studies" and "Combined Studies" of the CNAA courses reviewed earlier and similar comments apply to them. In general, language development seems to receive a little more emphasis here than in the "Combined Studies" courses though the cultural components seem less broad (few list "institutions", for instance) and the social science subjects selected are probably done in more depth. Literature appears in some programmes but receives less weight than in the conventional courses, being wholly or partly replaced by such subjects as economics, social studies, politics, sociology and, sometimes [e.g., ibid.:119, 120], by linguistics.

APPLIED LANGUAGES. The "Applied Languages" courses [ibid.:95, 124-127] are strictly vocational in orientation, aim at producing linguists with a high level of proficiency in practical skills in two and possibly three FL's, and give considerable attention to functional training. The student gains proficiency in the non-specialist register, in several other contexts (especially the life and institutions of the C_2 and C_3), and in such language functions as translation, reporting, summarizing, and various types of interpreting. The language courses are supported by background studies in the broad culture and civilisation of the countries, linguistics, and the theory of translation and interpreting. These heavily practical courses are well balanced (though the methodological queries raised about the other courses generally apply here too) and seem, from available evidence, to be very popular as if they are meeting felt needs [cf. James and Rouve 1973:95].

MISCELLANEOUS COURSES. The common characteristic of the "Miscellaneous Courses" is their replacement of literature by linguistics [ibid.:95, 127-129] (though James and Rouve also include here some Social Science and other courses that allow a FL to be included but give it little emphasis [ibid.:129-130]). These courses aim at high level proficiency in the four macroskills though one emphasizes receptive skills [ibid.:127-128] and another offers an additional "exotic" language and special subjects such as functional translation [ibid.:128-129].

COMMENT. Similar comments to those made on the CNAA courses [pp. 215-220] are applicable here and need not be repeated and some specific criticisms of certain courses have already been made. The prevalence of the prose in teaching and testing and the premature teaching of literature have also been discussed.

Perhaps the major characteristic of the "Traditional Courses" [pp. 221-222] and of the Australian courses to be reviewed shortly is their reluctance to change: they continue to rely on a narrow decontextualized view of language, on traditional views of how it is learned, and on traditional objectives and methods. This traditionalism persists in spite of its evident failure to produce viable language skills or even to produce real literary appreciation. It is significant that the "new" graduates in the Emmans survey found themselves more involved in the high level skills of translation and interpreting than those from more traditional courses despite the superficially greater relevance of traditional courses to such activities [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:41]. Real language proficiency tends to be ignored so that provision is rarely made for intensive language study in First Year in order to remedy deficiencies and develop proficiency adequate to literary studies [see James and Rouve 1973:101 for one exception]. Consequently, literary appreciation and development of aesthetic sensibility are in danger of being lost in the mechanical thumbing of dictionaries and the repetition of derived ideas without the direct aesthetic response to texts that appreciation entails. In addition, as we have already seen, the teaching of language tends to be a repetition of what was done before with proses being used to bring out the same errors time and again for a "correction" that does not seem to occur.

This reluctance to change reappears in even the more imaginative courses where, as we have seen, teaching methods seem to belie the objectives and design of the course with much emphasis continuing to fall on proses and translation. Often what passes for innovation in methods is only superficial tinkering with techniques that leave the central learning process unaffected. The use of modern authors for prose passages exemplifies this but it is also seen in those exercises (like some paraphrase and précis exercises) which constrict the learner to a passive role providing controlled responses in pre-determined patterns to words of no personal significance. For this reason, a change from traditional to audiolingual methods, though it may involve a change in the linguistic theory, constitutes a relatively insignificant change in the learning process since the learner is still not encouraged to learn the language through trying to use it actively as a vehicle for self-expression and meaningful (i.e., purposeful) communication. Similarly, the integration of a course with other disciplines to provide lectures in the FL on, for instance, politics in France, may usefully diversify the registers experienced and the content carried by the FL but, contrary to what was claimed at the Reading Conference [University of Reading Department of French Studies 1966], it may not be any more effective in promoting the "language as tool" approach unless additional steps are taken to destroy the students' passivity and, effectively, the classroom and textbook orientation of the language programme.

Many of the deficiencies that result from the methodological inadequacies observed could be rectified as a result of the "Year Abroad". However, the time abroad is often either much less than a year [e.g., James and Rouve 1973:119, 123], is optional [e.g., ibid.:109], or is not required [e.g., ibid.:127]. Hence, and because the period abroad should be for purposes other than basic skill development, it is unsatisfactory to rationalize deficient methods by the compensatory effect of the time abroad or to hope that the learner's own innate language learning capacities will rectify during that time inadequacies arising from deficient methods.

Clearly, despite the innovative approaches that have been made to general course design, methodological and, therefore, teaching and learning deficiencies remain. These are reflected in the examining procedures discussed and, more seriously, in the dissatisfaction Emmans found among graduates with the level of their practical (especially oral) skills [Emmans et al. 1974:46].

No such comprehensive and recent survey as James and Rouve 1973 is available for Australia. The most informative, Wykes 1966, deals with the 1964 situation while the recent survey by the Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975] has little specific information on the course types offered, their objectives, or the methods used.

A bipartite system of tertiary education operates in Australia with universities and Colleges of Advanced Education (C.A.E.'s), the latter corresponding to polytechnics but differing from them in that they often have a strong interest in teacher education, which may, indeed, be their sole concern (e.g., Mt. Gravatt C.A.E.). While the vocational tradition of the polytechnics probably contributed to their more innovative approach to FL teaching [pp. 210 - 211], no such progressive influence is evident in the C.A.E.'s, whose courses remain stolidly conventional. This probably results from the fact that their language teaching generally started within a former Teachers College and, without industry's demands for practical skills to counter-balance teacher preparation for a traditionalist language teaching system, conventional "language and literature" approaches were able to survive. The universities for their part, had tended, up to World War II, to imitate the ancient British universities with the strong classical tradition that was carried over into modern FL teaching. This tradition has survived far beyond the Australian universities' ideological independence and the British universities' diversification of language teaching [cf. Wykes 1966:40]. Whatever the cause, language teaching in C.A.E.'s and universities in Australia remains highly traditional with an almost universal adherence to conventional approaches emphasizing premature literary study, translation, prose, and essay-writing. No thorough-going integrated, combined studies, or "applied language" courses of the type common in Britain exist; virtually no area studies are to be found though "Asian Studies" (sometimes without a language component), do occur [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33].

In her 1964 survey, Wykes [1964:38, 39] found that most FL departments valued most highly the cultural aim (i.e., development of literary appreciation) and she quotes one professor as saying that FL departments were, in fact, departments of literature [ibid.:39]. She found, however, that some attention was given to non-literary subjects but, significantly, these were mainly in the fine arts or traditional humanities fields (e.g., art, music, history) [ibid.:39]. Though occasionally "practical" aims were endorsed, these reduced, in fact, to the training of research workers and academics and one language professor, reflecting a typical view, explicitly rejected the need "to train students in such a way that their knowledge will be useful for other subjects and walks of life" [ibid.:39]. Others refused to recognize any need for interaction with other (even Arts) departments though a significant number did advocate this and wanted to see Area Studies develop [ibid.:45-46]. However, around Australia, Wykes [ibid.:14, 15, 17] found about 500 students (mainly at Melbourne) doing "Science Languages" but only 139 in faculties other than Arts or Science.

The changes that have occurred since Wykes's survey have not been great. The Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975:33] reported that, in 1974, "a certain number" of foreign (especially Asian) language departments allowed their students to select non-literary subjects but this provision falls far short of the integrated courses in Britain. Other departmental heads seemed favourably disposed to such relaxation in the literary tradition and recognized the need for it if only to maintain enrolments [ibid.:33]. Again, the Committee [ibid.:34] noted some "inter-departmental area studies" developing where FL study combines with the history, politics, or sociology of a region (as in Latin American Studies, for instance). Nevertheless, the Committee advocated a further weakening of "the traditional nexus between language and literature [ibid.:34].

However, even in the study of Asian languages, where the historical influence of Social Science departments has led to "culture" being viewed more broadly and insightfully [cf. Chamberlain 1975:27], literary appreciation has remained a primary objective. The Commonwealth Advisory Committee on the teaching of Asian languages and cultures commented in 1970:

> *...it is clear that in most universities in which Asian languages are now taught the courses are structured in such a way as to bring the students to a reasonable proficiency in oral and written skill, to an understanding of the cultural background of the language and to an appreciation of the literary traditions of the language concerned.*
> [Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970:38]

Bostock, a political scientist, is even more pessimistic about the literary rigidity of Australian FL departments, which he considers to be one of the major causes of the decline in FL study in Australia. He states:

> *One of the least talked about, yet probably the most ill-conceived and costly of all of the boundaries between disciplines, is that which has come to exist between languages and all other disciplines, but particularly the social sciences.*
>
> *...It is, in fact, a fairly recent development, and it is in some universities being enforced with increasing rigour... Languages departments in Australian universities are almost invariably 'literature' departments whose principal interest is in the field of aesthetic and literary analysis.*
> [Bostock 1974:14]

Bostock goes on to show that in over ten years since the Wykes survey, the number of non-Arts students studying FL's at Australian universities has not grown significantly [ibid.:14, 15]. Some informal provision in the various language centres or institutes is made but the numbers are small (certainly less than 500 around Australia [cf. Bostock 1974:15; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:38-39]). In some languages (especially Russian, German, and French), "science" courses are offered but, again, numbers are small, the courses are not integrated with other studies, they are often available only as an ancillary study or as one unit and not as a "major", and they generally envisage only the reading skill. In others, beginning courses are offered. These are more accessible to non-specialist students but again numbers are small and, in any case, they tend to be too short and unintensive to enable students to reach a useful level of proficiency. In some places (e.g., Flinders and La Trobe), students in Social Science faculties are actively discouraged from taking language subjects [Bostock 1974:16].

Chamberlain is equally pessimistic and sees Australian FL departments as still rigidly traditional in their obsession with literature and their separation of the FL from the broad culture and civilisation of the C_2:

> *One only needs to take a look at any university or senior secondary school syllabus. It consists almost exclusively of language and literature...*
>
> Language *still means grammar, translation, phonetics, comprehension and composition.* Literature *means lectures and seminars in English around texts written in the foreign language, but which may well have been read by the students in translation.* [Chamberlain 1975:27]

This narrow view of language and culture cannot be justified with the claim that it responds to the needs and interests of the students. Holt's survey of FL graduates found them highly critical of the narrow, literary orientation of their courses, almost a quarter asking for a broader interpretation of "culture" and better opportunities to do "area studies" [ibid.:8-9]. Similarly, the Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975:42] recommends a greater variety of cultural studies. Perhaps the nadir of this view of language and culture has been reached in those language departments (particularly in Classics but also in some Asian Studies and in Griffith's School of Humanities) which now provide courses without language study in "civilisation" and even "literature" to students with no knowledge of the relevant languages [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975: 33-34].

Language study in Australian universities and colleges revolves largely around translation, proses, and essay-writing [cf. Chamberlain 1975:27] even though, in the words of the Australian Academy's Committee, audiolingual methods and language laboratories have encouraged

> *a shift from a text-orientated approach to approaches emphasizing in various ways the active use of the language as a means of expression and communication in speech and in writing.* [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:32]

However, whether this view is, in fact, a just summary of the situation is very much open to doubt. Anecdotal evidence suggests that prose translation retains a principal role in advanced language teaching; in any case, audiolingual methods are passively repetitive and do not guarantee that "active use" of the language as a vehicle for communication will be encouraged; and Holt's survey [1971:9] of FL graduates found 54% appealing for more oral work. Furthermore, it is clear from the preceding discussion that no courses can claim to give functional training or training of the type gained in the "Applied Languages" courses in Britain. We have already seen, for example, that no training for interpreters or translators was available in Australia until 1975 [pp. 170, 57-58; cf. Grassby 1974:3]; as James and Rouve make clear [1973:5, 14], those courses that use translation merely as a teaching and testing device cannot claim to develop facility in the highly skilled function of translation, and, it has already been argued, they may well create adverse mental sets that will preclude adequate language proficiency.

Clearly, courses at Australian universities and colleges are based on a narrow view of the nature of language and culture and of the role of language teaching. They remain largely "traditional" in approach and, although some attempts have been made to broaden their scope and to integrate them with other disciplines, they continue to focus on the traditional study of language and literature and to give insufficient attention to the development of practical skills to a useful level of proficiency. The criticisms of methods made in discussing the CNAA and British university courses are clearly applicable here. Their force is greater, in fact, because of the greater traditionalism of the courses and their lack of a "year abroad" to develop practical skills.

TEACHING STRATEGIES

GENERAL COMMENTS. Despite some innovations in course design, the methods used in advanced language teaching in Britain and Australia remain, in general, suspect. Translation techniques, proses, essay-writing, and literary study have already been discussed at length and the discussion will not be repeated here. Rather, we will examine the general nature of the strategies used.

There is a characteristic inconsistency in many (particularly traditional) universities' approaches to advanced language teaching: they both over-estimate their students' proficiency and reconcile themselves to their low skill level. We have seen the first exemplified in their plunging students immediately into literature and the second in reconciling themselves to lecturing on the texts in English to ensure all the nuances of meaning are grasped [cf. Evans 1971:2]. However, this inconsistency results in two far-reaching characteristics of university language teaching: too few programmes encourage the continuous, active use of the FL by the student and the student's individual language needs are not met [cf. Axelrod 1967:3-5]. Lectures in the FL on incomprehensible topics can bring little benefit to the listener but lectures in English reduce his FL experience. His need is for realistic experience involving his own active and purposeful use of the language so structured that the linguistic and situational contexts facilitate meaningful use. Programmes which assume an inflated class proficiency will tend to ignore those aspects of the language not yet mastered and will be less responsive to students' individual needs.

In some places, précis-writing [cf. Evans c.1974; James and Rouve 1973:81, 92, 110, 125] and paraphrase [e.g., Bate 1974a] replace prose translation. "Paraphrase" basically involves the student's listening to and, perhaps, reading a text which he then writes down from memory. Both paraphrase and précis are designed to provide written composition practice with some guidance in content, style, and language. Both are seen as creative exercises since they require initially the comprehension of the text, the assimilation of its meaning (since the text chosen is usually too long to be remembered itself), and the re-expression of the content by the student. Both exercises are useful in that they draw attention to discourse, thought sequence, and their markers (areas of weakness for matriculation students [cf. pp. 109-114]) and because they involve realistic tasks, viz., summarizing and reporting. An exercise with similar characteristics to the paraphrase is the "interpreting exercise" [Pollock 1971] which, properly used, can also stress comprehension and re-expression. As an exercise, it is clearly open to misuse and may be subject to the same pedagogical dangers as traditional translation exercises but with one significant difference, viz., that the learner is operating under pressure which gives him insufficient time to "translate": he must comprehend and re-express. These exercises have valuable teaching roles but their use is by no means as widespread as that of traditional exercises.

All the new exercises which have appeared in recent years retain at least one of the deficiencies of traditional exercises: they remain classroom-bound and, therefore, largely decontextualized and abstracted from real language functioning. The concept of language developed in this thesis is of language existing in, responding to, and helping to create a complex situation involving people, their personalities, the physical and temporal environment, preceding and subsequent utterances, a matrix of subsumed cultural knowledge, aims, intentions, actions, and so on. Language study based on discrete texts or abstract rules and their manipulation is not the study of real language; language practice that does not go beyond trivial conversation about mundane topics or topics of no personal import to the learner is not allowing the learner to use and experience real language. Such language teaching deprives the "language" of all those things that give it meaning. The learner cannot learn the language, i.e., learn to use the language and, in Halliday's [1975] terms, "learn to mean" in the language, unless he experiences it purposefully, with those things that give it meaning, which create it, and which form the environment and context in which it exists; he cannot learn it as a language unless he experiences it in the natural role of a language mediating between himself and the environment. The classroom by its very nature must deprive the language of these other things and a language learned only in the classroom must remain deficient. Yet, it is such decontextualized language that is characteristically taught in most advanced language classes. The one factor that compensates for it to some extent in many British (but few Australian) courses is the "year abroad".

THE YEAR ABROAD. The "Year Abroad" immerses the student in the language and culture of the C_2 for periods that vary from a voluntary few weeks in Australia to an obligatory six or twelve months for CNAA courses in Britain. During it, language skills are given purposeful practice in a "survival" situation in which the FL is a vehicle for communication in everyday life.

Conceptually, immersion in the FL culture promotes the development of the FL model of the world and its integration with the language. In the development of cross-cultural attitudes, it is important since it provides an opportunity, first, to experience and overcome the "culture shock" of living in a different culture and, second, to experience what it is to be "foreign" in an established society, a valuable experience for subsequent life in a multicultural society.

In most cases in Britain, the period abroad is structured in some way and includes some sort of disciplined work. This is required by the CNAA for its courses [Council for National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:Par. 10.4] and by most universities and usually takes the form of a project, attendance at courses in a foreign university, or work experience [cf. James and Rouve 1973:Appendix 1, Table 2]. However, some departments require traditional study activities to continue and, in a survey conducted in 1968 and 1969, Chamberlain [1975:28] found some British undergraduates spending their year abroad as *assistants* who were sending back regular literature assignments and proses for correction.

There is strong evidence that residence in the C_2 contributes greatly to language learning. Carroll [1967:137] concluded from his survey of the proficiency of FL majors in U.S. colleges that even a brief period abroad had "a potent effect" on a student's language skills. Elsewhere, he stated:

> *Probably the most important variable associated with the attainment of high foreign language proficiency was the amount of time the student had spent abroad in a country where his major language was spoken...there was a clear suggestion that travel and study abroad improve foreign language skill.* [Carroll 1967a:203 and cf. 200]

Carroll also found [1967a:139] that differing amounts of experience abroad were differentially reflected in the MLA skills test scores so that those who had been abroad only for a summer or a tour had scores intermediate between those who had had no overseas experience and a year. Similarly, the examiners' reports reviewed in Chapter Two found that time spent in the C_2 was reflected in the quality especially of oral work [e.g., II.A and O.71.4, 9], while Emmans found that,

> *Not unexpectedly, the longer the period of residence abroad, the higher was the graduates' estimate of their improvement in language proficiency.* [Emmans et al. 1974:46]

There seems to be increasing agreement amongst university teachers that a period of residence in the C_2 is desirable (even though there is little agreement as to the nature of the benefit [cf. James and Rouve 1973:131]). Emmans found that some 86% of graduates (97% from "new" courses) had spent three months or more in the C_2 [Emmans et al. 1974:46]. The CNAA requires that all full-time students taking degree courses in FL's spend at least six consecutive months in the country of each language studied or one academic year if only one FL is studied [Council for National Academic

Awards Languages Board 1974:Par. 10.1]. Similarly, many universities require periods from one month to one year to be spent in the C_2, generally between the second and third years though occasionally between first and second [see James and Rouve 1973:Appendix 1, Table 2]. Nevertheless, there are still many courses where it is optional [e.g., idid.:109 and Appendix 1, Table 2] or not required [e.g., ibid.:127] and, in view of the proximity of Britain to the continent, it is perhaps surprising that 14% of the graduates that Emmans found using FL's in industry and commerce had not spent three months or more in the C_2 [Emmans et al. 1974:46].

In Australia, distance and cost make it hardly practicable for residence abroad to be obligatory. However, some tertiary institutions (e.g., Mt. Gravatt C.A.E. and the University of Queensland) and even some schools do arrange for their French students to spend two or three weeks in New Caledonia [e.g., Montanus 1975; Reppel 1975], some students of Asian languages are able to visit South East Asia and Japan [cf. Stone 1974], and schemes operate to send groups of Secondary students to Germany during the summer vacation [e.g., Garrick and Kent 1975:31]. However, it is unlikely that many of the benefits to be drawn from residence abroad are obtainable if that period is less than six months and, in Australia, because of the costs involved, the time remains short and the numbers small. The Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages [1975:37, 42] urges greater financial provision to enable FL majors to spend a significant period of time in the C_2 as an integral part of their course in order to enhance their practical skills and motivation. Distance and cost make it unlikely that a "year abroad" will be introduced on a large scale but much more can be done to utilize the resources available in the ethnic communities in Australia [see Chapter Five]. These possibilities have not been utilized in the past, firstly, because FL teaching has been strongly oriented towards western Europe and, secondly, because its special role within a multicultural society has been overlooked.

THE INABILITY OF THE PRESENT ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING SYSTEM TO MEET TODAY'S NEEDS

PROFICIENCY ACHIEVED

It is difficult to assess the success of the existing advanced language teaching system. First, it cannot be doubted that some individuals survive the system and even do well, i.e., achieve a high level of language proficiency as well as the other benefits of tertiary education [cf. Carroll 1967a:200-201]. However, this need not in any way reflect upon the system since, first, advanced language teachers are primarily concerned with adults in tertiary education and particularly with adults who are highly motivated, who are, generally, educationally high achievers, and who would achieve their own goals despite the system. Second, the advanced language learner discussed in this thesis generally takes the language as one part of higher education and so he will be wanting to acquire much more than language proficiency (e.g., academic discipline, scholarship, vocational preparation, social development, status); hence, assessment of the success of the system is a much more complex task than assessment of language proficiency alone. Nevertheless, a high level of proficiency is prerequisite to those benefits of higher education drawn more specifically from language study (scholarship, aesthetic sensitivity, literary appreciation, and vocational skills) and so the discussion here will focus on the development of language proficiency and of favourable cross-cultural attitudes. Third, language is viewed in this thesis as a tool and so we are especially concerned to know what the learner can do with it. Such an approach was used by James and Rouve in their survey when they asked [1973:2-5] what skills the learner has, what contexts or registers he can use them in, and what functions he has mastered; it is implicit in the FSI scales; it is what Holt's and Emmans's surveys [Holt 1971; Emmans et al. 1974] reveal both students and employers are interested in; and it is justified by the discussion of proficiency in Chapter One. Fourth, we have seen [pp. 209-244] that there is, in fact, a great diversity of course types, activities, and general provisions for advanced language teaching. Consequently, the products of the courses will not be identical and the differences will sometimes be very great. A graduate, for instance, from a traditional "language and literature" department in Australia will clearly differ markedly from someone who has followed an "Applied Languages" course in Britain with its attention to practical skills, contexts and functions. Fifth, the assessment procedures adopted in tertiary institutions are little different from those reviewed in Chapter Two at matriculation and are little more informative. Carroll [1967a:59], for example, found College grades very unreliable with little correlation with MLA Proficiency Test scores. We have already seen, also, the problems that exist with such common teaching and testing strategies as prose translation, essay-writing, and précis, especially when one attempts to assess the success of advanced language teaching. There is, further, a singular dearth of studies of real language proficiency at this level and even of significant attempts to establish how such proficiency could be gauged. No such study is available for Australia or Britain and the only large-scale study of graduate proficiency seems to be Carroll's [1967, 1967a]. In this, Carroll used the MLA Proficiency Test and the FSI scale to assess FL majors near graduation from

College. In addition, even for terminal assessment within tertiary institutions, much needs to be done to improve validity and informativeness. The CNAA Languages Board has also called for more innovation:

> *The Board believes that much still needs to be done to inject a higher degree of intellectual rigour into the planning of assessment, and will welcome information from Colleges about new methods and approaches.* [Council for National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:Par. 8.3]

Despite these difficulties, some general comments on graduate proficiency are possible by extrapolating from the course types and methods surveyed earlier and from those indicators of proficiency that are available.

It was estimated earlier [pp. 72 - 76] that the average student entering a tertiary institution after matriculation has a FL proficiency of about S-1+, R-2. Personal experience, discussions with other FL graduates (especially teachers), and other anecdotal evidence suggest that a FL major in Australia would typically attain a proficiency of S-2, R-3 with some rising to S-3. That is, he could "satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements" (S-2) but few would claim to be "able to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and professional topics" (S-3) [cf. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968:1-2]. If one allows for the unintensive nature of typical Australian undergraduate courses and the probably high FL aptitude of students who successfully negotiate secondary school courses, this estimate accords with the FSI's time schedule since such a graduate has approximately 360 hours of course work over the three university or college years [cf. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973; Healey 1967:6]. Undoubtedly, graduates from more innovative courses in Britain where more specialization (and hence more time for FL study) is possible, where more specific attention to practical FL skills is given, and where a "Year Abroad" is experienced will achieve higher levels though students of more conventional courses may achieve a proficiency little greater than that in Australia.

This estimate accords well with the results of Carroll's study of U.S. college majors. Specifically, he found them to be weak in aural-oral skills [1967: 131], achieving an FSI speaking rating of S-2 to S-2+, while, in reading and writing, they were only a little stronger at R-3 [1967:134; 1967a:199]. He comments:

> *But when we consider all the results, the net showing of college foreign language majors is not impressive. One would think that the median college foreign language major ought to attain more than a 'minimum professional proficiency' [S-3, R-3] in basic language skills as a result of his efforts. We are speaking, of course, of medians; the distributions range actually from abysmally poor performance to quite superior performance - up to the limits measured by the tests, in some cases.* [Carroll 1967:134; cf. 1967a:46]

No survey as specific, objective, and informative as Carroll's is available for Australia or Britain.

Holt's survey [1971:9] showed that Australian FL graduates were highly critical of their oral skills, 54% asking for more oral work. The Emmans survey is the only one that provides direct statements on the proficiency levels of British graduates but his results need qualification since the method used [Emmans et al. 1974:42-44] is distinctly unsatisfactory and yields incompatible or, at least, highly unlikely results (e.g., in the very high levels of ability claimed for interpreting [ibid.:43]). Estimates for the macroskills and certain functions are obtained from self-rating scales but the effect of the relevant questions is to ask employees to estimate how well they are doing their job, a certain way to get inflated estimates. In addition, the questions and scales used are open to criticism: the lowest level of conversation ability, for instance, includes two of the most difficult tasks, viz., handling numerals and using the telephone [cf. also ibid.:42, Appendix D]. Emmans's results are also inflated by virtue of the fact that the survey tapped only those graduates who succeeded well enough to seek out and find a job involving FL use (87.6% to 97.8% of those surveyed had deliberately sought a job involving FL's [ibid.:34]). It did not tap those who dropped out during the course, rejected it as irrelevant, or who did not go into industry or commerce. Nor did it include teachers, who, in Carroll's survey [1967a:202], had significantly lower proficiency levels than graduates entering industry.

In addition, some 86% of Emmans's graduates had spent 3 months or more in the C_2, an experience which, as Carroll has shown [1967; 1967a], is highly beneficial for language skills but does not in itself have implications for the quality of the rest of the course. The majority of those Emmans surveyed claimed, in fact, native or near-native proficiency in all skills [Emmans et al. 1974:42-43] with those from conventional courses claiming higher proficiency in conversation, reading, and writing than the "new" graduates from more innovative courses. Such high results seem inconsistent in view of the criticisms that the same graduates made of their courses, their insufficient attention to oral skills [ibid.:46], and their belief that they had ill-prepared them for their careers [ibid.:48]. On the other hand, only about 10% of the graduates had attended inservice FL courses [ibid.:45] compared with over half of other employees [ibid.:67 and 71], some (if ambiguous) sign that their skills may have been adequate. Nevertheless, overall, but with the possible exception of some graduates from the more innovative British courses, one has to conclude that the proficiency levels attained by the end of most undergraduate courses is disappointingly low (especially in Australia). In the three university years they have increased by only about one FSI rating or the equivalent of about eight weeks' intensive work [cf. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1973]. This would seem to reflect a most inefficient way of going about language improvement.

Yet, despite occasional stirrings of unrest reflected in the criticisms of Holland 1967, 1969, 1969a, 1970, 1970a, 1972, Ross et al. 1967, Wexler 1966, Evans 1972 and 1973, Tucker 1974, Bostock 1974, and Chamberlain 1975, there seems to remain a surprising amount of self-satisfaction and complacency in the advanced language teaching system. This is reflected in May's comments quoted earlier [p.194], in the lack of change observable in courses throughout Australia, and in the numerous conventional courses at British institutions. Even the more innovative British courses can often be criticized, we have seen, for lack of innovation in methods of teaching and testing while the more conventional courses are open to attack on the grounds of the invalid assumptions they make about their students' language, their rigidity in course design, the inappropriateness of their objectives, and the ineffectual methods used to teach and test. This lack of fundamental innovation contrasts in Secondary School FL teaching and Lado [1971:414] has remarked that the tertiary conservatism leads students entering from Secondary School to feel that they are wasting their time. This contrast between the two levels was remarked by Axelrod in 1967 [1967:2] and it certainly applies in Australia today. The Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities suggests that the tertiary conservatism results from the lack of pedagogical training amongst university FL teachers [Australian

Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:29]; Cox [1967:292] attributes it to the rigidity of the examination system and the "calm assurance" of professors and staff that they have an infallible conception of what proficiency is. Perhaps, too, the obduracy of the traditionalists bears out [illegible]ngton's comment [1972:55] that the existing routine saves students and teachers from having to think too much and recalls the warning of the Committee of Twelve of the M.L.A. eighty years ago that an "easy" way of teaching requiring little specialized training is always in danger of becoming entrenched because it

> *may prove demoralizing to the instructor, dull his appetite for self-improvement, and make him indolent and easily satisfied with his qualifications.* [Thomas 1900:30]

Whatever the reason, the present situation seems to be that, while there are wide differences in what is offered, advanced language teaching today is not very successful in terms of promoting the development of language proficiency. In further assessing it, one must consider the extent to which the present approach matches the requirements imposed by the nature of language, the needs of society, and the needs of students.

MATCHING LANGUAGE NEEDS

THE NATURE OF THE LANGUAGE OFFERED

We have seen that many of the activities used in advanced language classes are inappropriate either because they derive from a false notion of the nature of language and knowledge or because the language they allow the student to experience is too narrow and élitest in register choice [cf. pp. 203-205]. The view of knowledge, language knowledge in particular, is of something to be transmitted from the lecturer to the student in an expository, transactional process. In contrast, in Chapter Four we shall see language as something to be sought and internalized by the learner in his own way using identifiable strategies that differ from those commonly encouraged in existing advanced language courses. The traditional view leads logically to lectures on rules, to proses aimed at catching all the rule intricacies and learner errors, and to repetitive "drilling" irrespective of the learner's existing knowledge, his learning readiness, or his need. Such a view favours formal accuracy above communication and, through fear of errors, debilitates expression. It stifles spontaneity by associating the FL with the L_1 lexicon and syntax instead of integrating it with a congruent model of the world.

Instead of teaching language as an autonomous system used to perform certain communication tasks and achieve desired ends, traditional methods reduce FL use to applying rules or filling slots. Yet language is more than that; it takes its meaning and existence from the fact that it is used to get things done, that it is a dynamic and creative means of self-expression that mediates between the self and the outside world. Language exercises based on the re-ciphering of words, the re-statement of dead utterances, are contrary to the nature of language or, at best, operate mainly at a superficial sound-collocational level. Halliday has put it this way:

> *Language is...the encoding of a 'behaviour potential' into a 'meaning potential'; that is, ..[it is] a means of expressing what the human organism 'can do', in interaction with other human organisms, by training it into what he 'can mean'.* [Halliday 1974:19]

And Freire states:

> *Speaking the word is not a true act if it is not at the same time associated with the might of self-expression and world-expression, of creating and re-creating, of deciding and choosing and ultimately participating in society's historical process.* [Freire 1970:30]

Even the use of authentic materials [cf. University of Reading Department of French Studies 1967] is only a superficial change from conventional courses. If advanced language teaching is to match the requirements of language itself, it must go beyond passive, repetitive or re-stating activities to encourage learning in and through the student's self-expression, through his use of the language to achieve purposes of importance to himself. Activities which are classroom-bound or have no life or purpose beyond themselves (even such imaginative exercises as Bate proposes [1974]) are inadequate and, like games used to excess, trivialize the language and conflict with its real nature and function.

We have already seen that advanced language teaching, at least in conventional courses, has traditionally focussed predominantly on the literary language. This is inappropriate because it restricts the language taught to a register not used in modern "everyday" situations and inappropriate for teaching it [cf. pp. 51 - 52 , 118-119, 138-139; Strevens 1968: 218]. Much of the literature studied in advanced courses is not written in contemporary language and the learner who wishes to acquire practical facility is unable to model himself on the language he experiences (that of Molière, Racine, or Hugo, for example). In addition, the language presented by traditional advanced courses is inappropriate because the literary register imposes excessive comprehension difficulties unless the learner has acquired an extensive vocabulary, thorough syntactic mastery, an ability to perceive assumed and implied meaning, and knowledge of the norms of the C_2 mores, culture and civilisation, and deviations from them. This implies a pre-requisite proficiency level not less than S-3, R-3. This is considerably in excess of the level students bring to tertiary institutions [cf. pp. 72 - 76], a fact reflected in the prevalence of the practice of students to read set texts in English [cf. Evans 1971; Chamberlain

1975:27]. Clearly, in existing advanced language teaching, a mismatch occurs between the language needs of students and the language that is presented to them.

This criticism of advanced language courses is not intended to "disprize..the written word" [Evans 1971:5] or to devalue literature. Rather, it emphasizes the need for advanced courses to provide language and learning activities which meet the learners' needs and which promote their language development. At the same time, it recognizes the practical value of the spoken language and the non-specialist register and their appropriateness in enabling the learner to acquire the central core of the language.

PROFICIENCY IN THE NON-SPECIALIST AND OTHER REGISTERS. The tendency for many courses to focus solely or largely on the literary language in both the study of literature and the type of language chosen for prose work [cf. Healey 1967:41; Austen 1968; Evans 1972, 1973] can be considered also as the development of competence in a single specialist register. There can be no doubt that, today, many students find their interests in fields other than literature and desire competence in these fields [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33]. In fact, the diversity of needs and corollary specialist registers and functions is potentially infinite. Consequently, both Emmans and the Committee of the Australian Academy [ibid.:33; Emmans et al. 1974:85] suggest that it is impossible to cater for all the needs. Whether they are right is open to debate [cf. pp. 180 - 181] but their suggestion does, nevertheless, highlight the need for courses to develop a sound general proficiency (i.e., in the non-specialist register of the FL) as a basis on which, subsequently, the learner may more readily build in response to vocational and other needs. Courses which do not present the language that enables such general proficiency to be developed fail to match the language needs and it is in this way that conventional courses based on the literary language fail. At any rate, graduates who experienced such courses subsequently felt this to be a major deficiency and the writer's personal experience confirms it [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:46; Holt 1971:8-9].

In addition, students seem increasingly to see tertiary education as fairly specific vocational preparation (especially in C.H.E.'s and polytechnics) and if the language needs are to be met, advanced courses must provide the opportunity to develop facility in those registers and functional skills relevant to the learner. Clearly, many of the newer courses surveyed [pp. 209 - 244] do this but there are many more conventional courses which do not and they must fail to match the needs caused by language diversity. In addition, as was observed in Chapter One, even a notion of general proficiency entails proficiency in a diversity of contexts that enter everyday life (journalism, politics, the arts, etc.) [cf. Diller 1971:105] and some minimal proficiency in many of these is essential for most students even though certain individuals may well choose to further develop one or another in response to their particular needs. If an advanced course is to meet such language needs, it must allow for individualization in learning and in course design.

Clearly, the language offered at least in the more conventional courses (but also in the others if the test types as outlined in James and Rouve [1973] are indicative) does not match post-matriculation language needs. Before scholarship, literary appreciation, or functional translation are feasible, adequate language proficiency must be developed [cf. Committee on Research and Development in Modern Languages 1968:1-2]. In other words, the need is for designers of advanced courses to identify intermediate and long-term objectives in the light of the learners' developing proficiency and to match the language offered to them.

OBJECTIVES AND THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE

IMPRECISION IN OBJECTIVES. Few advanced courses present clearly formulated language objectives. Generally, objectives seem no clearer than "doing something for the mind and character of the learner" [Thomas 1900:iv], an "introduction to the life and literature" of the C_2 [ibid.:7], or to develop practical skills. The need is to see taxonomically the objectives that arise from societal and student need and the exigences of language learning and for each intermediate and ultimate goal to be matched with the level and variety of language it entails. It is perhaps significant that such specifications are found only amongst the more progressive and (to judge from the Emmans survey [Emmans et al. 1974:37, 41]), successful "new" courses in the polytechnics and newer universities [cf. James and Rouve 1973:94].

LEVEL OF USEFULNESS. The criticism of the prevailing approach to advanced language teaching on the grounds that it disregards the nature of language is borne out in the results achieved. We have already seen evidence that the proficiency gains made in three years are not great [pp. 244 - 252] though they differ according to the type of course followed. Sager claims the confusion between teaching language and teaching translation is responsible for the "considerable over-production of graduates of insufficiently high standard to satisfy the stringent demands of the [linguist's] profession" [Sager 1975:7]. Furthermore, Carroll [1967a:202] found in his survey of U.S. FL majors that the taking of conventional college *language* courses had no significant effect or even a negative effect on student proficiency. On the other hand, Emmans found [Emmans et al. 1974:4] that the "new" graduates who had skill and function-oriented courses had more involvement in tasks demanding high proficiency (translation and interpreting) than had those who had followed more conventional courses that superficially contained m[illegible]nslation practice.

If advanced language courses are to meet language needs, then they must develop the learner's language to a level of usefulness. The CNAA Languages Board stresses this need in its course specifications [Council For National Academic Awards Languages Board 1974:1] while Strevens [1968:213-214] comments that, unless students reach the "threshold of local intelligibility", their time and effort and that of their teachers will have been wasted. Significantly, also, the Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities suggests that FL courses be given extra unit-credit to compensate for their workload rather than reduce that load and, by implication, the proficiency level reached [Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:34]. From the estimates made earlier [pp. 244-252], it seems unlikely that many students reach much beyond "Limited Working Proficiency" (S-2, R-2) and very few beyond "Minimum Professional Proficiency" (S-3, R-3). In other words, most will remain at best uncomfortable in social situations and will require a dictionary to cope with newspapers or articles in their field. Only a few will be at ease in social situations or in conversations on their professional fields or be able to read with reasonable understanding the range of everyday and professional material they are used to in their L_1. Since, however, as a graduate, the advanced learner's expectations will be considerably higher than this and his social and professional contacts will be largely with educated people in the C_2, such proficiency will be quite inadequate and the skill levels attained could not be regarded as matching the language needs. The situation for those who drop out after only one or two years is still more serious. Furthermore, Carroll's [1973a] discussion of the Wiltsey survey of doctoral use of FL's [Wiltsey 1972] emphasizes the correlation between proficiency level attained and the use made of FL's and, by implication, the need for courses to aim at an adequate proficiency level if language needs are to be met. Of those who reported "minimal proficiency", only 36% used FL's during doctoral study but this ranged up to 90% for "extremely high" proficiency. The relation between proficiency and use on the job was still stronger [ibid:126].

Mildenburger [1965], Axelrod [1967:2, 21], and Carroll [1967a:98, 341] all found that teachers graduating after a FL major had quite inadequate proficiency levels [cf. also Hawaii Language Teachers Association 1966:25]. Carroll [1967a:98] took a conservative S-3, R-3 as the minimal level for a FL teacher but found only 19.3% reached this in listening skills, 4.4% in speaking, 47.9% in reading, and 45.7% in writing. Though precise information is not available for Australia, it is unlikely that the situation is any better and the Committee on Foreign Languages of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and anecdotal evidence gained over the last twenty years would suggest that few Australian FL teachers have acquired a viable language and they certainly lack adequate language skills to meet the needs of a modern classroom [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:28-29].

SUMMARY

Clearly, there is room for much improvement in the way in which advanced language teaching meets the needs implicit in the nature of language. More fundamentally, the view of the nature of language on which advanced language teaching seems to be based needs to be modified. It has led to methods which, we have seen, are unlikely to foster viable language skills, which create debilitating mental sets, which neglect registers and functions,and which militate against the integration of the FL with a congruent model of the world. Carroll's evidence [1967, 1967a] and the complaints of graduates [Emmans 1974:46; Holt 1971] throw into doubt the assumption that James and Rouve make ("humanities" in their classification including little other than literature):

> *...the graduate of a university course of the 'languages and humanities' type may be said to command all four macroskills within the non-specialist register and within the contexts of the subjects studied.* [James and Rouve 1973:93]

In brief, proficiency levels attained in existing advanced language courses seem not to be very high. Greater proficiency is precluded by the inadequate view of the nature of language on which many courses are based. If more effective approaches are to be devised, it will be necessary to recognize the functional nature of language, the diversity of registers, the nature of the various linguistic abilities to be developed, and the need for a certain threshold of minimum usefulness to be attained. Unless the needs arising from a realistic view of the nature of language are met, advanced courses will be unable to meet the language needs of society or of the learners.

MATCHING SOCIETY'S NEEDS

In the course of the discussion of the needs of society [pp.159 -181], it became evident that the existing advanced language teaching system fails to match the needs. Though the more innovative courses in Britain doubtless provide useful and relevant skills, such courses do not exist in Australia. Even in Britain the proportion of students they produce is not great and, as MacGregor [1975], Wainwright [1970], and Sager [1975] make clear, the numbers are insufficient to meet society's needs. Tucker [1974:3] has commented on the dissatisfaction of "consumers and educators" with the "product of traditional second language programs" and similar dissatisfaction is reflected in figures Emmans provides. These show that, even though French is the most widely taught language in schools and universities, British firms provided more courses in French for their employees (38.2%) than for any other languages [Emmans et al. 1974:57]. The position in the U.S. is no better, a report in *The Linguistic Reporter* for February 1974 [Vol. 16, No. 2, p.1] showing that almost half of the U.S. language-essential posts were inadequately staffed. We have also noted that many graduates are turned out with skills insufficiently developed to meet the demands made on them and that a mismatch exists between the order of priority the teaching system gives to the macroskills and the order that society requires [cf. pp. 177-181, 215-220]. On the one hand, James and Rouve [1973:Chapter 4] show that oral skills generally receive low weightings in tertiary examinations, graduates complain that their aural-oral skills are inadequate [Emmans 1974:46; Holt 1971:8-9], and Carroll [1967a:199, 98] found reading and writing proficiencies to be much superior to listening and speaking (47.9% of language majors reached R-3 in reading and 45.7% in writing, but only 19.3% reached S-3 in listening and 4.4% in speaking). On the other hand, Emmans found that the order of skills demanded in industry and commerce was reading, conversation, and writing [Emmans 1975, Emmans et al. 1974:68-69, 85]. Whereas translation into the FL was low in priority [loc. cit.], we have seen that it figures large in advanced teaching.

The number of relevantly trained FL experts seems to be insufficient to meet society's needs. However, if one considers the needs of the multicultural society, numerical estimates become of little interest since the need is for most people to have L_2 skills in order that the groups in the society may interact freely and that cross-cultural understanding should be maximized. This need is clearly not being met [cf. pp. 159 -169], and, since interaction is essential to favourable attitudinal development [cf. Chapter Five], neither are the attitudinal needs. Many courses, we have seen, lack sufficient emphasis on "culture and civilisation" or on development of a congruent and integrated model of the world. Equally, there is no evidence that advanced language teaching methods have been reformed to respond to the needs and opportunities of the multicultural society but rather traditional, formal classroom-bound methods continue even in the more innovative courses. It seems unlikely that many of the courses reviewed (least of all the largely traditional Australian courses) meet society's need for attitude change except, possibly, when a "year abroad" is encouraged.

It seems clear that the present system of advanced language teaching is unable to meet society's needs. Its failure to do so is reflected in the relatively low proficiency levels developed, the misordering of priorities in skill development, and insufficient attention to the development of cross-cultural attitudes and understanding. It is not possible to entirely separate society's needs from those of the individual learner within that society and, if society's needs are not being met, it is probable that the individual's needs are not being met either.

MATCHING STUDENT NEEDS

The learner's needs include those that arise from the nature of the language he is learning and from the society in which he lives. Here, however, we shall not re-consider these needs but look rather at the needs that learners themselves identify and then at the needs that arise from the learner's own personal characteristics.

It is clear from previous discussions that most existing courses fail to meet the advanced student's needs for practical (especially oral) skills [cf. Carroll 1963:1068; Emmans et al. 1974:46, 48; Holt 1971:8-9; Carroll 1967, 1967a and 1973a:129] and in some cases they fail to raise the skills to a useful level of proficiency. As Tataraki and Kantor [1976] found, this was one of the principal factors persuading increasing numbers of Australian students to opt out of language study [cf. pp. 177-181, 188]. Similarly, Hill [1972:72] found that students offered an unintensive 120 hour course that could not have got them even to an FSI rating of S-1, R-1 elected not to take it once compulsion was removed.

There is widespread criticism by students of the courses experienced, criticism oriented especially around imbalance in objectives, over-emphasis on literature, and inattention to practical skills [Emmans et al. 1974:48; Holt 1971]. In contrast, we noted [pp. 178-181] that practical courses are much in demand [cf. Axelrod 1967:16; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33, 38-39], a Schools Council report [1970:115-116] showed that when a non-specialist, "practical" paper was offered at matriculation the dropout rate from O- to A-level was less, and Carroll's survey [1967a:112, 201 and cf. 1963:1089] showed that the great majority of FL majors were motivated especially by practical reasons involving practical skills. The students in Carroll's survey [1967a:202] weighted all four macroskills as of "great importance" but in the order speaking, listening, reading and writing, priorities that are not met, we have seen, by existing practice at tertiary level.

It is significant that students' demand for practical skills accords with their learning needs as identified by psycholinguistic research [see Chapter Four]. We have already seen that the nature of language demands that it be learned by active methods, that any worthwhile notion of language proficiency involves notions of the use to which the language can be put. Similarly, the learner's natural language acquisition processes require that he be actively engaged in trying to communicate, seeking rules, formulating hypotheses, trying them out, refining them, and gradually attaining to the native speaker model. It is an active process of seeking, self-expression, and gradual perfection of communication. In other words, the focus of language teaching and learning must be on the student's purposeful use of the language to achieve desired goals if they are to match his learning needs. It is clear that existing advanced language teaching methods do not meet these needs, except to the extent that they are met during the "year abroad". They are more likely to be met if the students' call for more emphasis on oral skills is heeded since oral methods facilitate wide experience, active involvement in using and learning the language, and experience of the language in social interaction outside the classroom. Carroll's survey [1967a:120] lends support to these arguments. He found that students wanting subsequently to use FL skills as tools in employment, in travel, or in literary study achieved higher proficiency than prospective teachers whose interests were more directly on the language. In addition, those who had used the FL actively as a result of their teacher's strategies, trips abroad, in extracurricular activities, or in the home (native speakers were excluded) performed very significantly better than others [ibid.:139, 141]. Even literary study seemed beneficial (though "literature" in this survey included reading matter of all types) [ibid.:159], while, as we saw earlier, pure "language" courses focussing, in the usual FL classroom manner, on the language as grammar rather than on its use brought no significant, or even negative, results [ibid.:202].

The passive approach to language learning characteristic of conventional or other clasroom-bound courses cannot meet the personality needs of adolescent students [see pp. 189 - 190, 487 - 501]. Though courses that require a year abroad go some of the way to providing situations in which the learner's personality crises can be worked out through the FL, there are many courses (especially in Australia) that lack this provision. In any case, the opportunities provided for use of the FL in interaction with native speakers and the learner's peers need to be much more continuous than one year abroad in a four-year course if personality development (including attitude change) is to be effected. The interactional experience required should be part of the on-going FL programme so that the language is learned through use and acquires meaning from use in the identification process, from being used to express "what the human organism 'can do'" [cf. Halliday 1974:19], and from its expressive function in the learner's management and re-creation of society [cf. Freire 1970:29-30].

It is clear that existing advanced language teaching programmes fail to meet the learner's needs as reflected in the skills he requires, the learning strategies he uses, and the personality development needed for life in a multicultural society. Nor are the learner's needs met in those ways already considered in terms of the needs of the language and the society.

SUMMARY

Despite some interesting innovations in course design in the more progressive British universities and polytechnics, present approaches to advanced language teaching, in particular the more conventional components, do not seem to be meeting students' needs in objectives, languages and registers taught, proficiency levels, or teaching and learning methods. Though the newer courses are meeting some of Britain's needs for FL experts more successfully than two decades ago, many other conventional courses, especially in Australian institutions, remain too narrow in scope to cater either for the learners' more diverse interests or for society's needs. The latter are left unsatisfied in the number of FL speakers provided, their proficiency, and the skills they have mastered. In addition, insufficient attention is paid to generating cross-cultural understanding and attitudes appropriate to life in a multicultural society and world. Finally, it is clear that the present approach to advanced language teaching seems to take insufficient cognizance of the new understanding of the nature of language and language learning that has been gained in recent years. Despite many superficial changes in exercises used, major teaching strategies remain largely traditional with language being regarded as a set of rules and lexis to be learned and applied rather than as a tool to be used for the achievement of some purpose. The resultant learning process remains passive, language-oriented, and, in most places, grossly inefficient. There is clear need for radical re-assessment of how language is learned at the advanced level, what the role and objectives of language teaching are in modern societies, and, consequently, how advanced language teaching should be structured. No such re-appraisal has been attempted though some partial studies are to be found in the literature.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING

SURVEY

Clearly, there is urgent need for re-assessment of the objectives, content and methods of advanced language teaching. Nowhere does this seem to have been done in any thorough-going way. Although interesting new courses are evident in some places, even these seem to go little further than diversifying the content, including practical objectives, and introducing some superficially different exercises. Methods have, fundamentally, changed little in comparison with more elementary stages and seem to have taken little cognizance of the dramatic changes that have occurred in the basic linguistic sciences. The tentative methodological changes that have occurred exist largely at the level of techniques, often seem not to have originated within any comprehensive and penetrating theory of advanced language learning, and consequently give an impression of being unsystematic, sometimes conflicting, and even *ad hoc*. They have left relatively untouched the tacitly assumed learning processes of traditional methods or, in some cases, are just now adopting audiolingual techniques which are now outmoded and are being replacedin the schools [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:32]. James describes the situation thus:

> *...in the universities there is a state of utmost confusion, with a rash of new centres and units and, all too often, the adoption of a new terminology to describe syllabuses that remain basically unchanged.* [James 1970:173]

This uncertainty arises, perhaps, from the lack of studies on advanced language teaching. Those there are, though interesting and useful, tend to be surveys of proficiency or courses or to be dogmatic and anecdotal comments on techniques used or on some of the factors affecting university FL teaching. Thus, Wexler's complaint [1966:1] that there was a lack of substantive research into advanced language learning remains largely correct over ten years later. Carroll [1967; 1967a] has surveyed the proficiency of FL majors in U.S. Colleges and suggested some of the factors that affect that proficiency. James and Rouve [1973:Chapter 4] have outlined the British courses and their objectives and thereby shown some of the directions in which advanced language teaching is moving. Less detailed studies have been undertaken for Australia [Wykes 1967; Working Party on Languages and Linguistics 1975; Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975]. Emmans, through his survey of FL's in use in industry and commerce [Emmans et al. 1974], has given some indication of the commercial adequacy of what is offered. Healey [1967] has comprehensively surveyed FL teaching in British universities in the '60's and there are on record a number of relevant conferences and discussions [e.g., Ross et al. 1967; University of Reading Department of

French Studies 1966]. Russell [1970] has collected a number of papers on post O-level FL studies but again these provide discussions of disparate aspects of FL teaching which are, in the main, rather conservative or attempt, like Austin's contribution, to present expedients to success within the existing system rather than re-think the whole process and offer theoretically sound alternatives, i.e., they debate only at the "practice" stage of the model in Figure 1. Many studies of adult language teaching that seem at first to be relevant turn out, in fact, to be principally concerned with the early stages or with specification of the language needs of adult migrants and give little attention to the particular problems of the advanced student [cf. Russell 1970a:21 and Holland 1969]. Van Passel's highly-readable book [1974] is like this as are many of the Council of Europe's publications (e.g., Van Ek 1975 which defines thresholds and lists content for adult courses). Of these, the three more comprehensive works deserve further attention.

Van Passel [1974] provides a highly readable, thought-provoking and practice-centred discussion of language teaching to adults. His main interest is less in advanced teaching than in general FL teaching to part-time adult students. His approach is largely anecdotal and narrates what has worked in practice for him rather than formulating a coherent theory [see Preface]. He has clearly been heavily influenced by audiolingual methods although he claims a preference for the "méthode logico-structurale", a cognitivist approach derived from Chomsky's linguistic theories. He states:

> *De cette façon, l'enseignement des langues étrangères aux adultes s'inspire d'une méthodologie fort proche de la théorie transformationelle et générative de la phrase, telle qu'elle est préconisée par exemple par Chomsky... Le cours se présente sous la forme d'un système déductif: en d'autres termes, une unité linguistique parfaitement délimitée au départ produit une série de nouvelles phrases, et ce par déduction, c'est-à-dire par transformation et substitution.* [Van Passel 1974:109]

In fact, Van Passel's method turns out to be a pattern-drilling approach relying on early simplistic notions of transformational generative grammar [cf. ibid.:109] and on learning through conditioning [cf. ibid.: Chapter III]. The influence of audiolingualism is reflected in the two chapters he devotes to a description of the U.S. Army's World War II language programmes. Nevertheless, some aspects of the work are commendable, especially his stress on the learner's using the language, his insistence on adequate time allotment, and his emphasis on motivation. However, these features do not differentiate adult from other learning or advanced from elementary levels. This is a particularly difficult problem and will be further discussed in Chapters Four and Six of this thesis.

The techniques Van Passel advocates are reasonably sound (especially his recommendations for diverse experience and for the teacher to guide the student to adopt good, independent learning strategies) but, on the whole, the lack of a consistent theoretical rationale leaves them without justification or coherence. He devotes one brief chapter to special purpose courses but he fails to look beyond lexical variation in registers and leaves rather confused the stage at which such courses should be available. In all, the book is interesting and readable; it suggests some interesting techniques; but its lack of a consistent theory of language learning prevents its making a very significant contribution to our understanding of advanced (or even adult) language learning.

Healey's book, when published in 1967, would have provided an important survey of the state of university language teaching. Although it lacks the detail of James and Rouve 1973, it does more than list what then existed (which is all James and Rouve attempted to do) and it makes a substantial contribution to the study of advanced language teaching. However, viewed from ten years later, its attitudes to contemporary opinions on language and language teaching appear somewhat conservative. It was written at a time when, despite the emerging generative linguistic theories and psycholinguistic research, audiolingual and audiovisual methods were in their heyday, were still largely unchallenged, and were viewed as a major breakthrough in methodology. At the time, it would not have been surprising that Healey should consider the language laboratory and programmed instruction as among the most promising contemporary developments, as innovations that, given adequate materials, could do much for advanced language teaching. He was clearly strongly influenced by behaviourist theories and audiolingual methods [cf. Healey 1967:xv, Chapter 4] even though he questioned their suitability for students used to traditional grammar-translation methods in the schools [ibid.:140]. Nevertheless, these innovations had still made relatively little impact on university language teaching, which remained highly "traditional" and based on the classics' approach with its proses and literary objectives [cf. ibid.:xii, Chapters 1 and 2]. Healey himself favoured an extension of integrated studies in order to make languages more relevant to the learner [cf. ibid.:xvii, 205, 209-210] but he seems to have remained fairly well, if not uncritically, convinced of the values of the traditional approach and of its disciplinary and literary objectives [ibid.:xvii, 9, 43, 206]. He has, in the light of earlier discussions [pp. 244 - 252], an unduly optimistic view of the proficiency attained:

> *...a graduate in a modern language has achieved as complete a mastery of the use of that language as can be achieved by a non-native speaker.*
> [Healey 1967:15-16]

Though again not uncritical, he seems reluctant to condemn the activities of conventional language departments despite the changes that, by the mid-sixties were already evident in linguistic and learning theory, in societal and student needs, and in methodology:

> *I feel that language departments have done, and are continuing to do good work within the framework of their present composition and given the objectives which I assume to be theirs. They are also giving a good account of themselves within the limitations of their present methodology...* [ibid.:22-23]

Healey's ambivalence in methodology is reflected in the extended criticism he makes of "prose composition" [ibid.:38-58] but the "alternatives" [ibid.:54] he proposes are little more than alternative ways to reach mastery in "doing proses" and he fails to recognize [e.g., ibid.:56] that "doing proses" involves quite different skills from writing in the FL [cf. pp. 57 -61]. Similarly, though he stresses the centrality of language and the usefulness of linguistic studies [Healey 1967:Chapter 3], he does not go so far as to demand language proficiency before literary study and he turns linguistic analysis to the stylistic appreciation of literary works [e.g., ibid.:107]. Like most discussions of language teaching, Healey's, too, is limited by its inability to go beyond the classroom setting (except for the "Year Abroad" [e.g., ibid.:84-94]) and consequently his discussion of "conversation", i.e., oral skills, is limited to traditional classroom-bound "conversations" and seminar papers even though he admits that most of these classes go on as if no one had "much idea of what is supposed to be happening" [ibid.:82].

In his last two chapters, Healey indicates some areas for further research (objectives, content, teaching methods, and testing) and the directions in which he would like course development and language teaching in general to move. In particular, he stresses the need for more interaction between FL's and related disciplines and, as in Language Centres [ibid.:220-232], for the linguistic sciences to be brought to bear on language teaching.

In all, the book is a useful survey of language teaching as it was in British universities in the '60's. It is, at times, quite progressive in outlook but Healey seems reluctant to move very far from established practice and this, it seems, largely because he lacks a coherent theory of language, language learning, and advanced language teaching. It is, rather, a descriptive account by a well-experienced university teacher who perceives deficiencies but is too reluctant to forsake tradition to remedy them. He raises issues of interest and points to areas that warrant investigation but he does not himself propose a rigorous theory of learning and teaching or perceive and accommodate the social and international changes that even then were taking place. Consequently, he fails to offer a new and viable methodology that would meet the new needs that have arisen from a fresh perception of the fundamental sciences and societal and learner needs.

The Reading Conference on Advanced FL teaching [University of Reading Department of French Studies

1966] is frequently quoted [e.g., Healey 1967:216] and its report raises issues that have since loomed larger in course design and methods. In particular, emphasis was placed on the use of language as a tool, how to achieve practical command, the search for exercises to replace proses (especially the use of paraphrases), motivation, special registers, the use of authentic materials, and the role of linguistics in language teaching. However, as a conference report, it necessarily remains a collection of ideas rather than presenting a coherent and systematic theory of advanced language teaching. The major innovations are in lecturer-student contact while the passive, transactional notion of language teaching persists and is subject to the same criticism as was made earlier [pp. 215-220, 252-256].

CONCLUSION: THE DEFICIENCY OF COURSES AND PUBLICATIONS AS THEORIES OF ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING

In the Preface the components of a rational, theory-based approach to advanced language teaching were discussed. An adequate theory must explain, predict, and prescribe [cf. Chomsky 1965:18-27]. It must be able to explain examples of successful language learning and account for failures.

A theory must be descriptive, not just in the sense that Healey [1967] or James and Rouve [1973] are descriptive of what happens currently (i.e., descriptive of the "practice" stage in Figure 1), but also descriptive of the learning process. It will be descriptively adequate [Chomsky 1965:24] to the extent that it correctly describes the crucial parameters influencing language learning, i.e., to the extent that the "Fundamental Sciences" stage in Figure 1 is adequately accounted for and allows the "Principles of L_2 Learning" to be inferred. None of the works reviewed above are descriptively adequate in this sense. Carroll, for instance, is solely concerned with the "Re-assessed in Practice" stage though his approach enables some understanding of the initial descriptive stage to be gained through the "Insights" feedback-link. Healey's model [1967:38-58] for teaching the written language breaks down because of descriptive inadequacy in the nature of written skills and of prose composition. Similarly, some of the newer activities discussed earlier (paraphrase, for instance), though more adequate in terms of one aspect of the description of language learning (learning through use) by-pass other aspects (e.g., language as self-expression or as the medium for interaction). Thus, although paraphrase may be a useful exercise, a course which merely inserts it into a conventional or audiolingual approach to advanced language teaching remains inadequate.

If a theory of advanced language learning and teaching is to be predictively adequate, it must provide criteria against which one can appraise methodology, classroom practice, or specific activities, and predict their effectiveness in promoting language proficiency. Conventional language teaching is predictively inadequate: it seems to predict the attainment of language proficiency and literary appreciation but we have seen that all the evidence [e.g., Carroll 1967, 1967a; Holt 1971; Emmans et al. 1974; MacGregor 1975] suggests that language proficiency is not reached and, therefore, literary appreciation cannot be reached.

A theory will be prescriptively adequate to the extent that it permits the teacher to postulate viable methods. Transformational grammar interpreted simplistically and misrepresented as a language teaching theory [cf. Chomsky and Hampshire 1968:690; and Chomsky in Allen and Van Buren 1971:152-153] is prescriptively inadequate since it cannot offer viable methods or, as Van Passel found, it leads to a type of pattern-drilling that invokes a structuralist-behaviourist approach which generative grammar itself refutes.

The theoretical model proposed in Figure 1 clearly subsumes ultimate objectives which, in most educational contexts, are determined extrinsically to the parameters of the theory itself, generally by the society or its agents, though intermediate objectives (e.g., acquisition of certain syntactic rules, certain sounds, or some language functions) will be determined within the model, i.e., are inherent. However, the model is concerned with language learning and has, therefore, the inherent objective of language proficiency (an objective necessarily presupposed by all extrinsic objectives entailing language use). Thus, the descriptive stage delineates the ultimate inherent objective which is, also, one of the intrinsic, socially desired objectives. Failure to differentiate other extrinsic objectives from inherent objectives or from one of the other stages in Figure 1 confuses means with ends, dislocates the taxonomy of inherent objectives, and disrupts the learning process. Thus, for example, premature teaching of literature confuses an extrinsic objective (viz., literary appreciation and aesthetic sensibility) with an inherent and, therefore, prior objective (viz., language proficiency); it also confuses an extrinsic objective with a teaching-learning strategy (e.g., reading for language experience). In the model, strategies are determined by the principles of language learning.

The approaches to advanced language teaching reviewed in this chapter clearly have theoretical inadequacies in one or more of the stages of the model illustrated in Figure 1. Similarly, none of the available works on advanced language teaching are theoretically adequate in the sense discussed and most, of course, do not set out to be. Descriptive adequacy is not present since none relates its views to an adequate understanding of the nature of language, the learner, language learning, or society. None is prescriptively or predictively adequate since the methods proposed do not cater for all the learning tasks involved in developing proficiency, produce a fully coherent methodology for advanced language teaching, or lead to the desired objectives. In fact, in reading what literature there is, one feels that most people are bewildered, not knowing how to develop FL teaching, and not having a sound basis on which to develop it. There is an inability to forsake convention and look at fundamental issues. James's emotive description of it as "the elaboration of gimcrack superstructures on unstable foundations" [James 1970:166] seems to contain some truth. As we have seen, new techniques that leave fundamental learning processes unchanged may add novelty to the language class and temporarily enhance motivation but they will not bring any long-term improvement in teaching effectiveness.

The task in the rest of this thesis is to describe the fundamental determinants of advanced language learning and teaching and then to propose a systematic methodology, a methodology which must be theoretically coherent in the sense just discussed and able to take the learner as rapidly as possible from his entering level of S-1+, R-2 to at least S-3, R-3 where the FL starts to become a viable tool for the attainment of the particular, extrinsic objectives desired by the learner. The ultimate proficiency envisaged at graduation will be at least S-4, R-4 [cf. Appendix Four].

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES

LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES

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RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY TO ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING

Noam Chomsky refers with approval to Humboldt's suggestion that

> *...one cannot really teach language but can only present the conditions under which it will develop spontaneously in the mind in its own way.* [Chomsky 1965:51]

In discussing second language learning with Stuart Hampshire, he also stated:

> *All we can suggest is that a teaching programme be designed in such a way as to give free play to those creative principles that human beings bring to the process of language learning... I think we should probably try to create a rich linguistic environment for the intuitive heuristics that the normal human automatically possesses.* [Chomsky and Hampshire 1968:690]

If the outcome of language learning is largely determined by innate characteristics of the learner [cf. Diller 1971:6-7; Carroll 1971:98; Lenneberg 1964, 1967, 1968; Kessler 1971:13], the teacher is likely to promote greater learning effectiveness if he structures his teaching to capitalize upon them. If the learner's "intuitive heuristics" govern his learning of the language, then the teacher's aim must be to so structure the "linguistic environment" that those "heuristics" can best operate. In other words, an understanding of how a learner learns a second language, in particular the strategies that he uses, is valuable in deciding how to improve the teaching of a language. It would seem desirable for the teacher to work with the natural processes, the intuitive strategies, rather than impose arbitrary and perhaps conflicting learning methods [cf. Corder 1975; Dulay and Burt 1974a:135; O'Rourke 1974:50; Richards 1971:174; Richards and Sampson 1974:15]. Consequently, this chapter seeks to determine the nature of the second language learner's strategies.

The notion of basing L_2[1] teaching on natural language learning strategies (often equated with child acquisition processes) is not new. Behaviourists would claim that audiolingualism uses natural learning methods. Swan's preface points out that Gouin in "essentially a new departure...based on a close observation of nature" [Gouin 1892:vi] also attempted to base language teaching on an understanding of natural acquisition processes [ibid.:vi-vii]. As long ago as the Sixteenth Century, Erasmus commented that "by following the path which [Nature] points out the toil of learning is reduced" [from *De Pueris Instituendis* excerpted in Hesse 1975:17]. These approaches break down partly because of their inade-

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(1) To this point, the term FL has been used. In most of the rest of the thesis, L_2 will generally be used. Chapters One and Two have been speaking in the context of established methods where a clear distinction is evident between *foreign* and *second* language teaching. The distinction is less important where one is examining central psycholinguistic processes [Chapter Four] and, in any case, most of the developmental studies referred to examined *second* (rather than *foreign*) language learning. In Chapters Five and Six, the thrust of the argument leads to an erosion of the distinction between FL and L_2, at least where languages are being taught in a multicultural society. Where the distinction is important, the two terms will be used contrastively.

quate understanding of learning processes, of the nature of language [cf. Chomsky 1959; Chomsky and Hampshire 1968:690], or of the extent of the relevance of L_1 observations to L_2 learning and teaching. Crothers and Suppes [1967:7] comment that all extant theories are inadequate to account for complex tasks such as language learning. Many studies [e.g., Francis 1975] tend to be descriptive of the language data the learner produces rather than explanatory of the learning processes that result in it. Bloom [1970:233] also concludes that the question of how language learning occurs remains unanswered and Cazden et al. [1975:58] comment similarly with regard to L_2 learning. Marshall is equally pessimistic:

> *But in spite of the vast accumulation of knowledge, scholars are still unable to propose a biological theory of language - a formal model of a brain mechanism consistent with the physiology described by Lenneberg and the .. psychological data...* [Marshall 1970:241]

Nevertheless, this chapter will show that studies of L_1 acquisition and L_2 learning have identified some of the ways that language learning takes place and, though one cannot say that a nearly complete theory is available, some learning strategies are clear and others (such as imitation) that used to be considered important can now be seen in clearer perspective. Thus, though a full theory of L_2 learning is not possible, enough is known to enable teaching to be modified to better match natural learning processes. Furthermore, recent insights into how learning occurs have decreased the importance of explicit understanding of the "microstrategies" because what is known throws the onus for learning more clearly on the learner. If the strategies are intuitive and innate, then they will operate to some extent whatever the teacher does and must operate if native-like ability is to develop [cf. Selinker 1972:33]. Nevertheless, as was observed in the discussion of matriculation French [cf. Chapter 2, pp. 49-70], the teacher can too easily impose inefficient learning styles but by observing the conditions under which language learning is most successful, i.e., by observing the "macrostrategies", he can provide activities and conditions that best facilitate the functioning of all the intuitive strategies whether or not they are, themselves, fully understood. Better understanding of them can, however, be only beneficial. Seliger well expresses the case for the teacher's understanding the learner's learning strategies:

> *A method of teaching anything should be no more and no less than a reflection of how the learner learns something. The purpose of teaching is really to provide a structured, non-coincidental situation where the strategies that are used by the learner are exploited and focussed on the particular matter to be learned. Teaching is a facilitative function at best; at worst it is destructive of natural tendencies that are genetically founded.* [Seliger 1975:3]

There is clearly both sound reason and a considerable body of opinion to lead the teacher who wishes to improve language teaching to try to identify as fully as possible the natural language learning strategies.

DEFINITION OF "LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES"

The term "strategies" is used in a variety of ways in applied linguistics to refer to a variety of different activities and processes. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines "strategy" as

> *generalship, the art of war; management of an army or armies in a campaign, art of so moving or disposing troops or ships as to impose upon the enemy the place and time and conditions for fighting preferred by oneself.*

Extrapolating to language learning, "strategy" in this sense would refer to the general conditions, the action tendencies, or external context of activities under which learning takes place. Stern uses "learning strategies" in this larger sense to refer to "general tendencies or over-all characteristics of the approach employed by the language learner [Stern 1974:10] and illustrates them [ibid.:27-35] with such factors as an active approach to the learning task, a tolerant and out-going approach to the language and its speakers, willingness to practise, and willingness to use the language in real communication. The most important of such strategies is "focus on use", observed when learning takes place while the learner is using the language to achieve some purpose. To avoid ambiguity, these strategies will be referred to as "macrostrategies".

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary distinguishes "strategy" from "tactic", the latter referring to "the mechanical movement of bodies set in motion by the former". "Strategy" seems to be used also in this sense in applied linguistics. Thus, Dulay and Burt [1974b:265] use the term to refer to innate "cognitive mechanisms". These include such activities as generalization, transfer, or simplification (processes by which the learner systematizes the data he observes), as well as imitation and rote memory [cf. Schumann 1975:1]. For convenience, these will be called "microstrategies" when it is useful to distinguish them from the foregoing "macrostrategies". Their importance lies in the fact that they are cognitive mechanisms which the learner innately possesses, which make independent and essential contributions to the learning process [cf. Dulay and Burt 1974b:265], and which operate whenever real language learning leading to native-like proficiency occurs [cf. Selinker 1972:33].

Though some microstrategies have been identified, those that operate in second language learning are not yet fully known [cf. Bloom 1970:233; Kessler 1971:15; Selinker 1972:39; Milon 1974:143; Wode 1976:4]. We noted earlier that observation of the natural macrostrategies which seem best to promote the functioning of the natural microstrategies is easier to make and is more immediately useful to the teacher since it can suggest to him replicable conditions under which naturalistic and efficient learning will occur. Hence, while some reference to the microstrategies will be made, this chapter is primarily concerned with identifying the macrostrategies (especially the learning experiences and conditions) that are most propitious for language learning.

The term "strategies", as defined so far, refers to "language learning strategies". However, an added confusion comes in the literature through use of the term to refer to what is better termed "operational strategies". This confusion arises from failure to distinguish learning from the application of what is learned in producing utterances. Thus, Dulay and Burt [1974b:266] describe Slobin's "operating principles" (e.g., avoid interruptions, pay attention to ends of words, pay attention to word order) [Slobin 1973:197-208] as learning strategies. Nelson [1973:55] speaks of a strategy as a method of controlling and manipulating information and, elsewhere [1973:95], she describes both questioning, an application of what has been learned, and imitation and repetition as learning strategies. This confusion occurs especially where the main focus of attention falls on the description of data rather than on the extrapolation of learning processes from the data. Thus, reference to a student's use of *no + V* in negation is reference to an operational strategy while reference to imitation, generalization, transfer or the process by which the *no + V* construction is adopted is reference to a learning strategy [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:32].

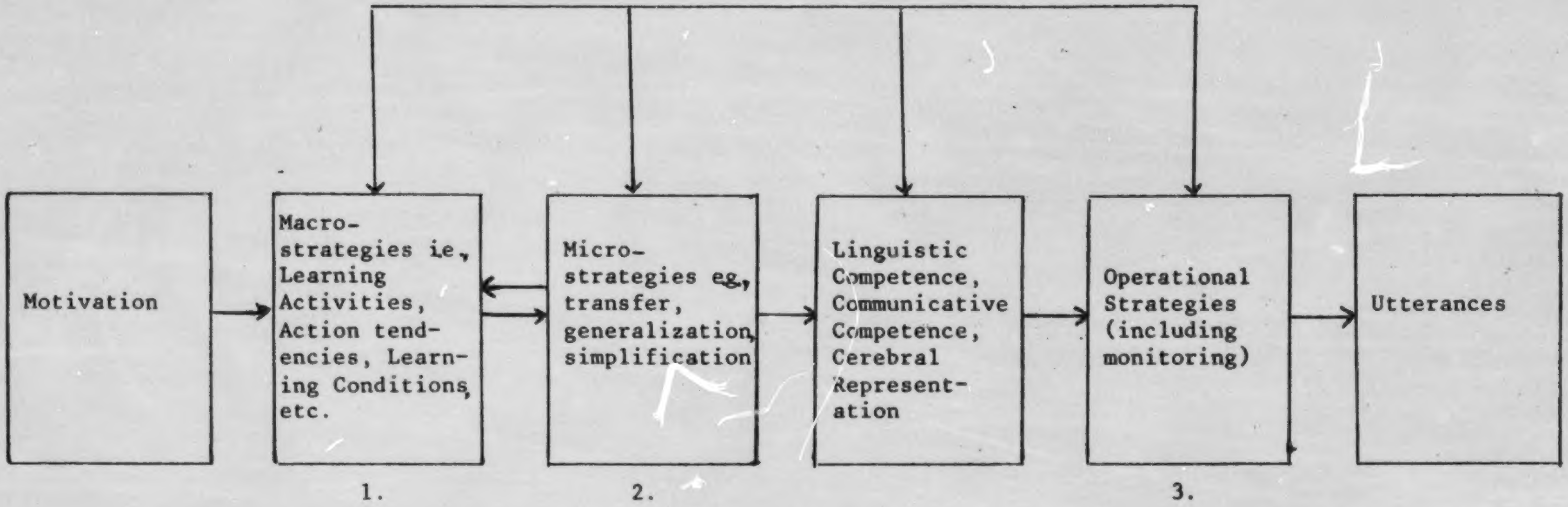
The relations between these different "strategies" is illustrated in Figure 2.

Most of the studies of learning strategies have focussed on L_1 acquisition or elementary L_2 learning. It is necessary to assess, therefore, the extent to which one can extrapolate from these studies to advanced L_2 learning, the concern of this thesis. Three aspects of the problem emerge: the relevance of L_1 to L_2 learning, the relevance of child to adult learning, and the relevance of elementary to advanced learning.

RELEVANCE OF EXISTING STUDIES TO ADVANCED L_2 LEARNING

RELEVANCE OF L_1 STUDIES TO L_2

Politzer [1974:250] observes that there is no necessary reason to assume that the cognitive processes underlying L_1 acquisition are the same in L_2 learning. Yet the tasks facing both L_1 and L_2 learners are essentially the same, viz., to internalize the systematic grammar of the language, to learn its vocabulary, to learn to vary the language appropriately to purpose and context, to learn to carry out desired functions, and ultimately to reach the adult model of the language with all the creativity that natural language use entails [cf. Torry


Motivation
Macro-strategies ie, Learning Activities, Action tendencies, Learning Conditions, etc.
Micro-strategies eg, transfer, generalization, simplification
Linguistic Competence, Communicative Competence, Cerebral Representation
Operational Strategies (including monitoring)
Utterances
1.
2.
3.

Notes: A. Items 1, 2 and 3 have all been termed "learning strategies" in the literature.

B. This "model" is not intended to offer a complete characterization of language production. It is merely listing the "strategies" discussed in the literature.

Figure 2: A Partial Model of Learning Strategies

1971:224]. Ervin-Tripp [1974:12] comments that if the human brain is specially competent to master such tasks, it seems unlikely that it will confine itself only to the L_1. Jakobson notes that child language development and the historical development of languages have parallels [cf. Kessler 1971:11] and this suggests that the factors determining language learning may relate to deeply permeating characteristics of language and the language user, again making it seem unlikely that L_2 learning would be radically different from L_1 acquisition. Certainly, the traditional assumption that they are fundamentally different warrants further examination [cf. Crothers and Suppes 1967:9; Bennett 1974:7].

The extent to which L_1 acquisition and L_2 learning are similar is estimated by considering the learner's stage of psychological development, the nature of the language he produces, and the strategies that he uses as reflected in the "errors" that he makes in the course of acquiring the language. The assumption is made that, if the processes by which he goes about learning the language are the same for an L_1 and L_2, then he is likely to make similar errors, in a similar sequence, as he progresses to language mastery [e.g., Ervin-Tripp 1974:121; Milon 1974; Dulay and Burt 1974a; Cazden et al. 1975].

If one considers the differing levels of cognitive development in L_1 learners and most L_2 learners (especially at an advanced stage), L_1 and L_2 learning could be expected to differ. In Piagetian terms, the advanced L_2 learner in the school system has entered the formal operational stages while those stages of L_1 learning that have been most studied occur during the pre-operational and concrete operational stages. Thus, L_2 learning is backed by different cognitive abilities and the learner can utilize formal operations. Rosansky [1975:6] criticizes this view since, she claims, the L_2 remains too weak to carry formal operations. However, like many applied linguists, she seems to be mainly concerned with early stages of L_2 learning whereas at more advanced levels (the concern of this thesis) such operations are more feasible. For example, introspection by the learner of his language and learning becomes possible so that conscious modification and manipulation of rules can occur and provide a further dimension over which L_1 and L_2 learning differ [cf. Stern 1974:21]. Other differences include the different biological maturities of L_1 and advanced L_2 learners, their different memory abilities, and their different capacities for complex cognitive operations. Unlike the L_1 learner, the L_2 learner already has a complex conceptual structure which is brought to bear on any problem that he confronts and he has a linguistic system which intervenes in his perception and expression. Corder [1967:27] suggests, in fact, that the L_2 learner's task is simpler, his first question being whether or not the L_2 system is the same as his L_1. Other cognitive differences emerge as a result of factors related to the differing ages of L_1 and advanced L_2 learners.

THE AGE FACTOR IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Intuitively, the age factor would seem to prevent L_1 developmental studies (which, for the most part, have examined young children at an early stage of language acquisition) from contributing significantly to a better understanding of advanced learning amongst teenage or adult students. Evidence to support this intuition is readily found. Even though L_2 learning is clearly possible at any age and even though creative construction processes operate for both children and adults [Dulay and Burt 1974a:132], adults clearly bring with them different and additional cognitive abilities and the actual mechanisms used in language learning may be different [cf. Bever in Huxley and Ingram 1971:268; Dulay and Burt 1974b:255]. Rosansky provides strong evidence that L_2 learning after puberty may be qualitatively different from L_1 acquisition and, as discussed earlier [pp. 297-298], these differences may be related to the onset of formal operations [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:5-6; Rosansky 1975, 1975a, and 1975b:iv-v]. Krashen's studies [e.g., 1976] have led him to distinguish language acquisition (the natural process) from language learning (the conscious process characteristic of formal classroom situations). Acquisition, he suggests, occurs at all ages though especially during a critical period in childhood. For the child, only acquisition is possible but the adult, who has passed the critical period, supplements his imperfect acquisition of competence with learning.

The prior existence of an L_1 may influence the adult's L_2 learning especially when he has formal understanding of his first language and utilizes rational processes in any problem-solving task [cf. Corder 1975]. Thus, extrapolation (i.e., transfer) from the L_1 to the L_2 is probable, even if it is less than was once thought [see pp. 399 - 404].

Adults' cognitive abilities (and their reasoning processes in particular [cf. Penfield 1953, 1964]) are considerably more developed than L_1 learners' and are available for any learning or problem-solving task. In fact, learners who have spent at least twelve years in the formal school system will have learned to apply their cognitive abilities to all learning tasks. Nevertheless, as Kessler observes [1971:16], language acquisition and cognitive development are neither entirely dependent nor entirely independent and language aptitude studies reveal that L_2 learning and general intelligence are not highly correlated [cf. Pimsleur 1966:177]. That is, just because the adult's cognitive abilities are more highly developed than the child's, one cannot therefore say that language learning at the two ages will be different since other factors may intervene. Kessler [1971:88], referring to Piaget, notes that certain syntactic structures seem to require the prior development of more complex cognitive processes [cf. Carol Chomsky 1969; Bloom 1970:228; Clark 1974:6]. Such an inhibition does not hold for already mature adult learners and so, again, adult L_2 learning seems to differ from child L_1 acquisition. If cognitive maturity and reasoning ability in particular are relevant to L_2 learning, one might expect that the learner would find a language of similar phonological, syntactic and semantic structure to his L_1 easier to learn. In fact, there is much anecdotal evidence to suggest this and the FSI School of Language Studies [1973] confirms it from experience in its courses. Dulay and Burt [1974a:132], however, provide counter evidence when they cite only 4.7% interference errors in their adult language learners, that is, rationalizing on $L_1 - L_2$ similarities would not seem to play a major role in language learning. Ervin-Tripp [1974:126] notes a difference between learning and interpreting clauses. Learning, she says, involves "surface structure heuristics" and the stages of acquisition are the same as for L_1 learners but this is not so in interpretation of relative clauses where cognitive maturity plays a greater role as the learner utilizes context and situation and this produces a different developmental order [cf. also Richards and Sampson 1974:12]. In other words, cognitive development may exert different influences on the different "strategies" observed in Figure 2 and so age may differentially affect the relevance of L_1 to L_2 learning.

Clearly, it seems reasonable to believe that adult learners have cognitive skills available that the child learner does not. Ervin-Tripp [1974:122] notes that the older learner is "smarter", can solve problems more readily, and can carry in his mind more complex operations. This is reflected in the young child's language in that there is a greater constraint on the length of utterance he can program [cf. Brown and Bellugi 1964:82]. Similarly, while the young child's utterances are monofunctional, the adult's are plurifunctional [cf. Halliday 1975:42]. The adult has learned to expect this of language in use and this imposes significant difficulties for him as he attempts to cope with several functions simultaneously as well as grapple with new syntax and vocabulary. The adult learner also has "more efficient memory heuristics" and is capable of greater feats of immediate and long-term memory [cf. Ervin-Tripp 1974:122; Torrey 1971:235]. Thus, the adult learner seems to have more efficient memory abilities to utilize in language learning. Furthermore, he has a more extensive and varied conceptual structure to use to understand and impose structure upon new experiences [cf. Torrey 1971:225], i.e., the older learner has an extant framework in which to classify new material, a facility that is less developed for the L_1 learner. Where the extant conceptual structure or model of the world matches that of the new language, it may facilitate understanding and memory. However, where a mismatch occurs, understanding, learning and expression may be debilitated [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2]. Whatever the effect of the extant M.O.W., the conclusion must be that L_1 and L_2 learning differ.

Furthermore, the child learner's language development must often await pre-requisite conceptual development in a way that the adult learner's need not because the concept already exists. Thus, Nelson suggests [1973:116-117] that the child's putting two words together to form an utterance must await the cognitive advance that permits him to relate concepts abstractly. Halliday [1975:25] suggests that the relatively late emergence of question and answer in the child's language is because they must await emergence of the concept of dialogue and of social roles. If Nelson's view [1973:114] of language learning as the child's seeking in the environment the symbols used to match his concepts is accurate, the task for the L_2 learner would again seem to be different. The adult L_2 learner already has an elaborated model of the world and concepts to which to match the language are already there: conceptual development either does not retard language development as it must the L_1 or a re-organization of the conceptual structure entailing a re-perception of the world will be needed before a concept-language match is possible. In either case, the tasks of language learning and concept development are different for the L_2 learner from the L_1 learner.

The critical period hypothesis also raises difficulties in extrapolating from child L_1 studies to adult L_2 learning. This hypothesis takes several forms but, in essence, states that natural language learning depends on innate language-specific capacities which operate most effectively at certain ages generally taken to be up to puberty [cf. Lenneberg 1964, 1967 esp. Chapter 4, 1968; Rosansky 1975, 1975b]. Lenneberg [e.g., 1967:179] says that this critical period ends with brain lateralization though Oyama [1973] argues that the two factors need not be related. Penfield [1953, 1964] also observes that, prior to puberty, the brain is most suited to language acquisition and, though L_2 learning is not impossible thereafter, the reasoning processes become more influential making it quite different from pre-puberty language learning [cf. also Lenneberg 1967:176]. Similarly, Selinker [1972:33-34] suggests that most adult L_2 learners learn languages quite differently from children even though the mechanisms used are still genetically determined [cf. Richards and Sampson 1974:10]. One explanation of this is Rosansky's observation that the termination of the critical period comes with the onset of Piagetian formal operations [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:5-6]. Krashen distinguishes child language acquisition from adult learning. The latter uses formal learning processes which assist the learner's conscious monitoring of his own production [cf. Pon and Krashen 1975; Krashen 1976], and help to overcome the loss of natural acquisition abilities as the critical period passes.

There is some dispute whether learning that has not occurred by natural processes during a critical period can take place by other channels subsequently [cf. Rosansky 1975b:iv-v]. Nash [1970:144] believes that it cannot or that, at least, such learning is more difficult and results in a different product. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that if L_1 acquisition has not occurred during the critical period or if that part of the brain where the L_1 is represented is destroyed after the end of the critical period, language learning will not occur [cf. Lenneberg 1967:143, 146, 158, 187; Whitaker 1971].

However, anecdotal evidence from every language class shows that L_2 learning by other channels is possible and Krashen's studies [1976] show that both natural acquisition processes and formal learning occur in adult L_2 students. Rosansky [1975b:90] cites mainly anecdotal evidence to suggest that language learning after the critical period is more difficult but she also cites Hess who shows it is possible but by different routes [Rosansky 1975:1]. It seems that, provided the language acquisition processes are exercised, they will retain some effectiveness. This view is supported by the anecdotally well attested greater ease that multilinguals have in acquiring additional languages and by the evidence in Culhane 1970 that students who had already learned an L_2 progressed more rapidly in subsequent languages [cf. also Politzer and Weiss 1969:16, 64; Penfield 1964:81; Mackey 1969:327]. A counter-argument would exist if the decline of the critical period were accompanied by an irreversible physical change such as brain lateralization yet this does not seem to be the case. Even though Lenneberg suggests that lateralization occurs at puberty when the critical period terminates, Krashen, Oyama and Rosansky dispute this (Krashen placing lateralization at age 5) and show, in any case, that lateralization is not necessary to Lenneberg's concept of age-limited language acquisition [cf. Rosansky 1975b:30]. Rosansky prefers the notion of a "sensitive period" to a "critical period" and this accords with the evidence cited above for the continuance of both language acquisition and language learning into adulthood.

Clearly, the relationship between age and language learning is complex but there is sufficient evidence to say that the adult masters a second language in a way that is neither entirely the same as nor entirely dissimilar to the child L_1 learner's. The applied linguist, seeking insights on which to base his methods, can look at child studies but it would seem advisable to consider them judiciously and to test their applicability.

THE SIMILARITY OF L_1 ACQUISTION AND L_2 LEARNING, CHILD LEARNING AND ADULT LEARNING

Despite the differences between L_1 acquisition and L_2 learning, psycholinguistic research continually identifies parallels between the two processes. Selinker [1972:33] highlights their general similarity when he postulates that, like L_1 acquisition, L_2 learning involves the activation of latent psychological structures in the brain (though these might be different from the L_1 structures). Macnamara [1971] and Kennedy [1973] stress the similarities and see the differences as resulting from differences in motivation and situation.

The specific similarities that emerge between L_1 acquistion and L_2 learning and between child and adult learning are striking. Richards [1975:74] notes a similarity in developmental priority and learning strategies for children and adults (e.g., focus on meaning, simplification, hierarchic development) and

Ervin-Tripp [1974:126], in looking at the acquisition of transitive clauses in French, found that L_2 and L_1 learners followed the same sequence. Fathman's study [1975] supports this view since she found that differences in age, cognitive maturity, attention span, short-term memory, and language background did not alter significantly the order of acquisition of L_2 structures in her English-learning Subjects aged 6 to 14. This finding parallels Carol Chomsky's [1969:1, 60] with L_1 learners, in which she concluded that age was not a major factor in determining sequence of acquisition and that, although it was not possible to be certain when a child would reach a particular stage of development, the order he would follow was specifiable. Krashen et al. [1975] also report similarities between child and adult orderings and, though they at first suggested some differences occurred between L_1 and L_2 learners, subsequent analysis indicated considerable similarity in order here also, those differences that were evident being the result of such factors as immediate memory capacity.

Learning strategies also seem to reflect considerable similarity. Chomsky in his discussions with Stuart Hampshire [Chomsky and Hampshire 1968:690] suggests that the same innate processes must operate. Cazden [1972] and Reibel [1971] argue similarly; Bailey et al. [1974:240-242] observed similar errors and processes in children and adults;

and Richards [1975:74] comments on the similarities in learning strategies. Cook [1973] reviews a number of studies that suggest adults and children learn the L_2 and L_1 similarly and her own research shows that no matter what the teaching methods or the course, adult L_2 learners follow substantially the same developmental schedule in L_1 acquisition. Taylor [1974:32] concludes that, at the "process level", L_1 and L_2 learning are identical. Dulay and Burt [1974a:130] quote studies by Natalico and Natalico, Ravem, and Milon that showed that errors made in learning English as an L_1 and an L_2 are similar and they conclude that the learning strategies are also similar. One of their own studies [ibid.:132] showed that 87.1% of the errors L_2 learners made were the same as in L_1 studies and were explicable by the same "creative construction" processes [cf. 1975:27-28]. Another [1974] showed that children reconstruct the L_2 syntax similarly whatever their L_1. Politzer [1974:249] comes to a similar conclusion, noting that errors were identical, complexity and difficulty of structures were the same, and hence learning strategies were the same. Milon [1974] found a striking similarity in the developmental stages through which children learning English as an L_1 and as an L_2 pass and he suggests [1974:143] that they use the same learning strategies. Richards and Sampson [1974:11] review studies that show an overlap in the rule systems established by bilinguals for their two languages and also conclude that the strategies used in natural L_1 and L_2 acquisition are the same. Ervin-Tripp [1974:126] concludes from the form and function of their utterances that her L_2 Subjects used the same strategies as occurred in L_1 acquisition, especially, overgeneralization, simplification, loss of sentence-medial items, and reduction of immediate memory load. Corder [1967:22, 26] also suggests that the L_2 learner adopts strategies that are "substantially the same" as those used in L_1 acquisition.

The studies just mentioned focus specifically on learning strategies and syntactic schedules but studies of other factors also reveal similarities. Loban [1966:45] found that figurative language and generalizations emerged relatively late in L_1 development (rarely before Grade 6) and, according to Russell [1970] and Holland [1970], they are equally late in L_2 learning despite advanced students' greater cognitive maturity. A favourable, receptive environment is equally influential in L_1 and L_2 learning [cf. Nelson 1973; Burstall 1974:222] and precocity in both L_1 and L_2 development correlates with the learner's use of the language [cf. Nelson 1973:105; Burstall 1974; Carroll 1967]. Both seem to involve rule seeking [cf. Brown 1968, 1970, 1973] with L_2 learning being facilitated by specific rule formulation [cf. Burstall 1974; Carroll 1973; Smith

1970]. Kessel [1970:49] found the less generalizable structures were the most difficult for the L_1 learner and, similarly, the Examiners' Reports discussed in Chapter Two repeatedly showed that irregular forms caused the most frequent errors. Clearly, there is considerable evidence that L_1 and L_2 learning have more in common than our earlier discussion would have allowed.

ADVANCED VIS-A-VIS EARLY STAGES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

It is difficult to estimate the relevance of studies of early stages of language acquisition or language learning to advanced stages because the latter have had relatively little attention paid to them. However, language acquisition shows a high degree of consistency in developmental processes [cf. Nelson 1973:2] and it would seem unlikely that the different stages would differ radically in macro- or micro-strategies though there is some evidence of differences in emphasis. Nelson [1973:86], for example, comparing her study with that of Brown and Bellugi [1964], found that imitation and expansion occurred in the mother's speech (i.e., in the language the child experienced) more frequently as the child's language became more complex. Some differences may also arise because the advanced learner's language is now powerful enough to enable him to introspect, reason about, and monitor his language and learning. Some evidence also suggests that imitation by the child is more useful and frequent at advanced levels [e.g., Torrey 1971:235] although L_2 studies that have compared audiolingual methods unfavourably with cognitive methods tend to throw doubt on the role of imitation at any level [cf. Smith 1970; Von Elek 1975]. Halliday's observation [1975:42] that early language is monofunctional while adult language is plurifunctional suggests a considerably greater complexity in the language learning task at advanced levels. Nevertheless, this could be seen as a functional parallel to the hierarchic development of syntax and Nelson's observation [1973:2] of a basic continuity in structural development and learning strategies remains valid.

In all, it seems that a study of advanced L_2 learning would do well to consider what is known about L_1 acquisition and child L_2 learning, at least to the extent that the teacher is suspicious of learning strategies that his methods impose but that do not appear in L_1 learning. The teacher will also have to take into account the situation in which L_2 learning is occurring and Strevens [1975] warns against simplistically extrapolating from L_1 acquisition. He notes the multitude of factors that impinge on the L_2 learner (e.g., the teacher, the learning situation, and motivation). Nevertheless, the teaching situation is manipulable and those studies in developmental psycholinguistics that are available would seem to provide objective bases on which to seek insights to test out in practice. The first need is to identify the strategies used by the learner. Some overlap will be observed in those discussed below. They are, in fact, aspects of the one total process perceived from different directions. The differing perspectives provided by the strategies identified are important, however, because each leads to different teaching corollaries.

MACROSTRATEGIES

CONTROL BY INNATE FACTORS

The two quotations which started this chapter highlighted the importance of innate factors in language learning. It was Chomsky [1965:27-37, 43-59] who first used the term "language acquisition device" to refer to the human being's innate predisposition to acquire language, i.e., the internal but as yet unspecifiable mechanisms which, provided they are stimulated by exposure to language, enable the learner to construct and internalize the systematic grammar of the language [cf. Corder 1967:21]. Despite the simplistic interpretation the term has sometimes been given [e.g., McNeill 1966:38-39; 1970-70], it has attracted much research which has elucidated the language learning process. In particular, it has re-emphasized the centrality of the learner and the need to provide conditions which will promote his learning by utilizing his natural abilities [cf. UNESCO 1976:4; Diller 1971:32] rather than just facilitate teaching.

The notion of language-specific innate processes that govern how language is learned and the developmental schedule is now sufficiently well-established not to require arguing here. Evidence has accumulated from diverse fields, from linguistics [Chomsky 1965:47-59], psycholinguistics [e.g., McNeill 1966; Slobin 1965], biolinguistics [e.g., Lenneberg 1964, 1967 and 1968], and neurolinguistics [e.g., Whitaker 1970 and 1971]. It has been well summarized by Burke [1974:55], Kessler [1971:14], and Rosansky [1975, 1975b], who discuss as evidence the degenerate data the child experiences, language universals and their apparent innateness, cerebral dominance, the critical period, the disequilibrium central to the process of cognitive maturation and constituting language readiness [cf. Lenneberg 1967:374-379; Rosansky 1975b:65-66], language-specific genetic deficiencies, the physiological equipment of the respiratory system that is peculiarly appropriate for language, the predictable and universal L_1 developmental schedule, and the common learning strategies adopted. Whatever the precise nature of the "language acquisition device" and its physiological manifestation, both of which may be subject to some controversy [e.g., Campbell and Wales 1970: 257; Rosansky 1975b], the existence of inherited processes or abilities fundamental to language acquistion seems to be well established and it is sufficient here to consider the relevance of the L.A.D. to adult L_2 learning.

It has already been noted [pp. 295 - 313] that the processes observable in L_1 acquistion are to some extent at least relevant to L_2 learning also. Chomsky, as reflected in the quotes that opened this chapter, believes that the L.A.D. operates and is essential in L_2 learning. Selinker [1972:34, 48-49] refers to a genetically determined, "latent psychological structure" which is activated by the learner's attempting to express meaning in the L_2 though this latent structure may be different from and additional to that which Lenneberg perceives as determining the course of L_1 acquisition. The differing structures are reflected in the fact that utterances that the L_2 learner produces differ from utterances produced by native speakers whether of the L_2 or of the L_1 [cf. Lenneberg 1967:374-379; Cazden et al. 1975:4]. In addition, Bailey et al. found the adult L_2 schedule resembled that of the child L_2 learner though not the child L_1 learner [Bailey et al. 1974:237, 240-242].

Nevertheless, Selinker [1972:33] does suggest that those few adults who so succeed in learning an L_2 that they acquire native-speaker competence do reactivate the latent language structure. The language teacher's task is to provide conditions that permit more learners to succeed in this way. This will only be achieved, in Corder's view [1967:27], when more is known of the nature of the learner's "in-built syllabus" and his learning strategies. The contrast between the child's success in L_2 learning in motivating, natural circumstances and his relative lack of success in the classroom suggests the teacher's failure to reactivate and capitalize upon the learner's powerful language acquisition processes [cf. Macnamara 1971:57]. At the same time, whatever learning does go on may occur through the natural processes no matter what actually takes place in the classroom. In this case, actual language production would not necessarily bear much resemblance to those structures formally taught. Thus, Cazden et al. [1975] found in one study that an adult who had done considerable formal study differed little in her language production from others who lacked such study. Freeman [1975] and Bailey et al. [1974:240-241] also found that age, formal instruction, exposure to the L_2, and differences in the L_1 had no effect on sequence or strategies in L_2 learning, again as if universal (probably innate) factors were dominant. Dulay and Burt [1974b:265] conclude that innate cognitive mechanisms make an independent contribution to L_2 learning. Krashen [1976] agrees but recognizes that formally imposed strategies can also contribute to language learning.

The problem in reactivating the L.A.D. in L_2 learning is explicable by Lenneberg's hypothesis that language readiness is characterized by a state of disequilibrium which declines with cerebral maturation as the mind "creates a place into which the building blocks of language may fit" [Lenneberg 1967:375-376]. At this time, the cognitive processes are firmly structured and cerebral reorganization of functions is no longer possible [cf. ibid.: 376]. However, from introspection and anecdotally, it seems probable that disequilibrium, the trigger which activates the language acquisition processes, re-emerges when the L_2 learner is placed in a situation where he must operate in the L_2. Thus, if the learner is forced to communicate, to respond rapidly to and think in the L_2, the natural language learning processes are more likely to be re-activated. Furthermore, there is evidence that the practice in cerebral reorganization which acquisition of additional languages necessarily entails facilitates subsequent reorganization and, hence, multilinguals seem more adept at language learning [cf. Politzer and Weiss 1969:16, 64; Mackey 1969:327; Penfield 1964: 81; Penfield and Roberts 1959:242; Lee 1970:33, 48, 49].

In all, it seems clear that universal innate mechanisms result in certain cognitive strategies for the organization of the language data that the L_2 learner experiences [cf. Dulay and Burt 1974b: 254-255]. The exact nature of the mechanisms and complete specification of the strategies are not yet possible but their postulation has led to a new focus on the learner in the teaching-learning dyad. The teacher's task is to co-operate with the learner's natural processes and promote their efficient functioning by presenting language relevant to the learner's developmental schedule and by providing motivating learning experiences and activities that facilitate the learner's natural language learning strategies. In particular, the learner must be seen as actively involved in exploring and using the language.

THE LEARNER'S ACTIVE ROLE

AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT

The learner is a creative participant in the language learning process, an active seeker after knowledge, one whose innate processes enable him to re-create language for himself. He is not only a passive recipient of language structured by the teacher and ingested as if he is an empty vessel to be filled [cf. Freire 1970:26; Richards 1973:115; Ingram 1974:76-77, 79-80].

Clark, Hutcheson and Van Buren [1974] give evidence that the development of comprehension in the child is more closely related to production than was once thought and thus they underline the importance of the child learner's trying out rules and his active involvement in seeking and internalizing the systematic grammar of his language. Nelson's study [1973], one of the few detailed examinations of parent-child interaction, found the child's use of the language the most important variable in promoting successful learning. Those children whose language was least accepted (e.g., the parents may have continually corrected their speech, dominated the child, and attempted to impose a model) developed considerably more slowly than those whose parents were more accepting and allowed them to talk and try out the language whether or not they were understood [cf. Nelson 1973:112 and 104]. Francis's study [1975] also leads her to reject any passive assimilatory or reactor role for the learner. Rather, she emphasizes [ibid.:8, 9, 15, 100] the active role of the learner, his "active search for expression" directing his attention to relevant features of the language environment and encouraging him to invent and create when the limits of his competence are reached. At a more advanced level, Loban [1966:2] also concluded that proficiency was advanced by the L_1 learner's actively striving to express himself and, with disadvantaged children, Gupta and Stern [1969] found speaking more effective than listening in promoting language development. Nelson well sums up this view of the L_1 learner:

> *In these respects, then, the child is viewed as an active information processor, model builder, and problem solver.* [Nelson 1973:3]

The evidence accumulating is that the L_2 learner is similarly an active and creative participant in the language learning process, one who operates directly upon the language data experienced [cf. Taylor 1975:392]. He is not a "passive receptacle" [Dulay and Burt 1974b:276] for the inpouring of the teacher's structured knowledge but one whose innate mechanisms actively process the data to formulate the grammar of the language. Corder [1967:26] concludes that to provide the correct form is less effective than if the learner is encouraged to seek it for himself, forming and testing hypotheses. In her long-term study of French in British Primary and Secondary schools, Burstall [1974:63, 244] found methods in which the learner was actively producing language himself were more popular and more effective than passive listening activities. Like Van Passel [1974:163], Stern [1974:20, 27-35] also observes the active role of the L_2 learner as he formulates hypotheses about the L_2 and gradually re-constructs for himself the L_2 system. Lee et al. [1970] provide a different sort of evidence by referring to studies that show physical arousal is necessary for learning to occur. Unlike conversation, pattern practice was not accompanied by arousal and this, it is suggested [ibid.:120-121], explains its ineffectiveness in promoting learning; active methods making cognitive demands requiring the initiation of language by the learner bring greater arousal and more learning. In short, language is not just taught but is learned as the student tries out the language and formulates ways to self-expression. The onus for mastering the language must fall on the student. The teacher's task is to structure satisfactory conditions in which learning can occur.

LEARN THROUGH USE

Expressed differently, language is learned through use and to delay communicative use of the language until it has been learned (as is characteristic of L_2 classes) is contrary to natural language learning macrostrategies. Nelson's study [e.g., 1973:104, 112] provides strong evidence of the importance of using the language, freedom for the child to produce much language being the factor must propitious for development. Strickland [1971:394] stresses the need for disadvantaged children to "talk as much as possible". Loban concluded [1966:55] that disadvantaged children avoided speaking because they perceived the inferiority of their language and this avoidance led in turn to slower development, worse performance and more mazes. At a relatively advanced level of development, Feenstra and Gardner [1966: esp. 10-11] quote several studies including their own to show how the complexity of the spoken or written language produced is influenced by the amount of verbalization children indulge in and the maturity of their audience. Francis [1975:50, 160] shows that, at all levels and in spoken as well as written language, this verbalization is not imitative but is the child's own heuristic use of speech patterns as he observes forms in use, tries them out, and tries to make them work for himself. He does not so much repeat and practise forms as "experiment" with principles as he tries to communicate and explores his environment [cf. Francis 1975:50; Halliday 1975:65, 75]. Thus, use becomes important because it allows the learner to identify meanings and limits to usage [cf. Francis 1975:52; Bowerman 1976:140-141] while the basic learning of language occurs as the child communicates about everyday events [cf. Francis 1975:64].

Evidence from L_2 learning suggests that the principle of learning through use applies equally there. If so, it contrasts markedly with the procedures in many FL classrooms, where the focus falls on memorizing rules and vocabulary while use in communication, if it occurs at all, is deferred to the last stage [cf. Valette 1976]. Carroll [1967a; 1967:136, 137, 139, 148] found that time spent in the C_2 was "one of the most potent variables" in determining the FL proficiency of College majors and this was also observed in discussing the Examiners' Reports in Chapter Two [e.g., II.A and 0.71.4; II.0.71.9]. Undoubtedly, one reason for this is the use made of the language while abroad and this is borne out in other parts of Carroll's study [1967a:137, 141, 200, 203, 205] where use of the language in the classroom by the instructors [cf. also II.A and 0.71.4], use in the home by the students or their family (all of whom were non-native speakers), copious reading, and other language-use experiences are shown to be highly significant. Further evidence is found in Canadian immersion programmes [cf. Swain 1974:22] and in those French and English schools teaching other subjects in the FL in *sections bilingues* [e.g., Romanis 1973:34; King 1975; cf. Penfield 1964:80]. Both approaches claim to produce students more adept in language skills than those following traditional L_2 programmes. That language is learned through use is also implicit in Savignon's study [1972:33, 66, 17] where the group given instruction based around specific communication acts using the language and encouraging innovative self-expression performed significantly better. Brière [1966], studying advanced learners' written composition, found that improvement in quality was directly related to the increase in quantity of writing done. Krashen and Seliger conclude from Brière's study:

> *This implies that the more the learner has the opportunity to merely practise a particular linguistic skill in informal environments, the more he is likely to improve qualitatively.*
> [Krashen and Seliger 1976:15]

Oller [1973:48], arguing from pragmatics, shows that language is best learned "in response to a paradigm of situations" in which the learner is using the language to communicate rather than manipulating abstract grammatical elements. Diller [1971:26-27, 34] similarly emphasizes contextualized, meaningful use of the language as the only way by which grammar can be effectively learned and become psychologically real, a point reminiscent of Halliday's [1974:4, 13, 19] that language gains meaning through being used to achieve some purpose and cannot exist without functional use [cf. Ingram 1974:76-77; and Jakobovits' introduction to Savignon 1972:2].

As in L_1 learning, imitation or passive repetition seems to be of limited value in L_2 learning. Thus, Carroll's study [1967; 1967a:202-203] found no correlation between language laboratory use and proficiency, a result supported by Smith's findings on audiolingualism and language laboratories in the Pennsylvania Project [Smith 1970:164-165, 237, 249]. Similarly, Oller and Obrecht [1968] showed that active communicative use of the language best promoted learning (and facilitated mechanical manipulation of utterances rather than the reverse). Clearly, the L_2 learner, like the L_1 learner, masters the language by using it creatively and purposefully. In doing so, the learner is initiating language, forming and testing hypotheses about it, and creating the language system for himself.

INITIATING LANGUAGE IN ACTIVE PRODUCTION

Using the language gives the learner the opportunity to initiate utterances. Nelson's study [1973] suggests that this is the major strategy determining language learning, her Subjects progressing more rapidly when they initiated and produced more speech. Even vocabulary acquisition was promoted where children were encouraged to initiate language [ibid.: 70] and O'Rourke's study of vocabulary development [1974:46] also leads him to stress the importance of the child's experimenting with language. Feedback from parents and correction, Nelson found unproductive [1973:113] whereas production enabled the child to assess the acceptability of his concept of words and structures [ibid.:40, 46]. That is, initiation of speech is important for many if not all children (some of whom seem to prefer to process language internally in the early stages [ibid.:40, 45]) because it lets them try out the language system they are devising. In this context, the study by Clark et al. [1974] is supportive since it shows the development of comprehension and production to be closely related in time. Even were learning to occur by imitation and generalization, the learner needs to initiate language in order to establish the limits of applicability of the rules being intuited. Francis concluded [1975:50] that acquisition did not occur through mimicry of parental speech but rather the parent and child share experiences, the child observes a form working for the parent and tries to make it work for himself. Nelson states [1973:10] that one Subject who was dominated by her mother progressed slowly and unevenly because her mother's intrusions prevented her from testing her concepts against her mother's. Those experiences which involve equally as much language but receptive rather than initiating experience (e.g., watching television, intrusion by the mother) correlate negatively with rate of acquisition; however, a high rate of mother questions and such experiences as outings, both of which seem likely to stimulate the child to initiate utterances, are highly favourable to language development [ibid.:63, 70, 71, 83]. Clearly, the initiating of language or trying it out in active production is an important macrostrategy for the L_1 learner.

The same macrostrategy is important in L_2 learning. It rarely occurs in language laboratory drills and this probably accounts at least in part for their lack of success. When the learner does not initiate an utterance, its semantic content is likely to be of no importance to him, he may, in fact, be unaware of what he is saying, no act of choice for content or form is involved, and the limits of the rule on which he is operating and, hence, its significance and applicability cannot be known. Nor can he know whether any error he makes is communicatively significant or not. He can know these things only if he has initiated an utterance, chosen content and form, and observed the effect of his utterance. Savignon's [1972] study of the development of communicative competence in the L_2 learner reveals the importance of "innovative self-expression" [ibid.:66]. Gupta and Stern [1969], examining the learning of a second dialect, found that repetition and active production of sentences developed more facility than did listening possibly because vocalization and production direct the learner's attention to the syntactic form and its pragmatic relationships. Similarly, Power's studies [1972:12] show that reading fails as a language development method. De Sauzé [1929:91] outlining the "Cleveland Plan" stressed that, even to improve the receptive skills, much productive experience is essential, in particular, to give the learner active control over the language and to eliminate vagueness.

It is in this context that a growing body of evidence is emerging that oral learning experiences can be more effective than reading or writing (except, perhaps, where functions specific to these skills are involved). The role of listening as a learning strategy will shortly be seen [pp. 351-355]. In addition, the need for the learner's active involvement in trying out the language is best catered for by oral means since this facilitates more numerous communication attempts by the learner and more rapid and appropriate feedback [cf. pp. 355-363]. The rapidity of speech together with the pragmatic support it receives from the situation enables more language to be experienced in the same time span. However, if the learner is to be free to initiate and try out language, he must be able to do so without fear of making errors and without inhibitions because his L_2 is less adequate than his L_1 in versatility, style and accuracy [cf. Stern 1974:27-35]. When this occurs, his focus of attention moves from the language to what is to be achieved through the language.

A MEANS NOT AN END : FOCUS OUT

The perspective we have now arrived at is of language learned as a tool to achieve some end beyond itself. This contrasts with the traditional classroom approach at all levels; yet, for the child learner, language is clearly a means, not an end. Halliday [e.g., 1975:43] specifically rejects the notion that "Nigel" simply practised the language but rather he used it as a tool to learn about and interact with his environment. Cazden observes that neither parent nor child focusses on language structure yet that is what the child learns while, paradoxically, the L_2 teacher and student focus on structure and much of what is taught is not learned [quoted in Dulay and Burt 1974a:135; cf. pp. 318 - 321]. Furthermore, if language acquires its meaning through the uses to which it is put [cf. Halliday 1974, 1975], it must be used purposefully in things of importance to the learner to acquire meaning or to exist at all except, in Oller's words [1973:48], as a "verbal calculus". Freire's concern with education amongst suppressed peoples leads him to elucidate this fundamental aspect of language:

> *Insofar as language is impossible without thought, and language and thought are impossible without the world to which they refer, the human word is more than mere vocabulary - it is word-and-action...*
>
> *...Speaking is not a true act if it is not at the same time associated with the might of self-expression and world-expression, of creating and re-creating, of deciding and choosing and ultimately participating in society's historical process.*
> [Freire 1970:29-30]

Recognition of this aspect of language places the learner's inevitable errors in their true context as the reflection of the learner's attempts to construct a grammar which enables him to communicate. Any attempt to proscribe errors and restrict the learner's utterances to "correct sentences" necessarily trivializes what he can say and precludes the creativity which is an essential part of using and learning language [cf. pp. 341 - 347]. It stifles willingness to use the language even though it is in using it for some desired end that it is learned [cf. pp. 321 - 325].

Expressed differently, the efficient learner focusses out beyond himself and beyond the language even though he uses the language to reach the external world. This major macrostrategy is very evident in studies by Nelson and by Halliday. Halliday [1975:75] notes the importance of the mathetic function as the learner develops and uses his language to learn about his social and material environment. One of Nelson's Subjects, who showed slow vocabulary development, was marked out by her lack of interest in the "thing world" [Nelson 1973: 108]. In general, the words Nelson's Subjects first or most rapidly acquired were those they could act on, manipulate, or see move. This was far more important than frequency of experience or exposure to the words or even need for them. In addition, Nelson found [ibid.:31, 81] that those learners who were object-oriented and particularly who talked about others were significantly more advanced. It seems clear that language learning is promoted as the learner focusses outwards and learns and uses the language to explore the external world. This contrasts with the usual L_2 classroom where the language is the focus of attention, the content is of little importance, and the language is imposed onto an already acquired world knowledge. When language is used as a means to some other end, its communication role becomes pre-eminent.

FOCUS ON COMMUNICATION

In its natural use, language is used to communicate and it is acquired as the learner strives to communicate, i.e., during natural language use and natural language learning, the purpose of the language act is to communicate (receptively or productively) and not just to produce language. It is incidentally as meaning is sought or delivered that the semantic effect and communicative adequacy of structures are perceived [cf. Brown, Cazden and Bellugi 1969:152]. Even though Francis's Subject "played" with words in varied structures [1975:61], it is significant that it was in attempting to communicate that he tried out the words and their usage. Communication is a crucial motivating factor in language acquisition. This is implicit in the notion that the concept precedes the speech form, the latter being sought to express the former [cf. pp. 426-431]. Halliday [1975:42-43] found with his Subject that the main motivation was the child's desire to use language to explore the environment, communication acts again being the focus of his attention as he sought and received information about the environment. Elsewhere [ibid.:31], he argues that the concept of communication is fundamental to language learning beyond the most basic monofunctional stage. Beyond that stage, learning occurs through interaction and, for this, the child must grasp "the fundamental nature of the communication process" [ibid.:31]. He learns to the extent that he masters the notion of and strives towards communication.

In subsequent chapters, we shall see that being put into a situation where communication has to be made whatever the language that emerges provides a major stimulus to the advanced L_2 student's learning. Sinclair [1974:3], reviewing a study of second dialect learning by West Indian children, notes that language elements and skills are learned when the teaching focus is on real or realistic communication, when the learner is absorbed in a communication task that demands those elements and skills for success. This contrasts with more traditional approaches to language study where often form and accuracy are more highly valued than content and where "conversation" tends to be on stereotyped topics where mutually known information is needlessly exchanged [cf. Ingram 1974:79]. Oller and Obrecht [1968] compared the teaching of structures with and without communication activity and found that the former was more effective. Oller [1973:42-43] also shows that language is not a self-contained entity but is normally contextualized as a communication act in a linguistic and pragmatic situation and is more efficiently learned when so experienced.

Stern [1974:27-35], in fact, recognizes readiness to use the language in real communication as one of the good language learner's strategies. The memorization and exchange of set "dialogues" fall down here in being only parodies of communication. If it is real communication that is occurring, it is not on words but ideas or content that attention falls. Language that is not used to communicate ideas is still-born [cf. Rivers 1975]. Furthermore, it is not possible to learn a language first and only afterwards mobilize it to speak and understand [cf. Torrey 1971:231-232]: interaction and communication, learning to understand and be understood, involve more than lexis and syntax and speaking requires the prior selection and organizing of language. Richards [1973:129] shows, for example, that the learner can expand his functional capacities by learning an art of communicating which enables him to take maximum advantage of his knowledge. In striving in this way to communicate, he selects to learn and use those things of most importance to him in communicating. This leads him to adopt the microstrategy of simplification [pp. 396-398] where he uses only so much of the structural forms as well enable him to communicate efficiently. A teaching method which focusses on the correct forms of the language will aim to avoid such "incorrect" structures but will also stifle a fundamental learning strategy. It is the need to communicate which provides the stimulus to the learner to observe the language, to seek a match between concepts and language, to impose a grammatical system, and to gradually complexify it [cf. Corder 1975; Macnamara 1971:60]. Corder [1975], in fact, recommends a syllabus progression based on communication demand.

Thus, communication need and the attempts to communicate are fundamental in language learning, the formal system developing in response to them.

FOCUS ON MEANING

Communication is essentially the transmission of meaning and language learning occurs as the learner strives to transmit meaning [cf. Bowerman 1976:100-101]. Meaning takes precedence over form, i.e., the learner focusses on meaning. Halliday [1975:137] describes the child learner's goal as "to be good at meaning" and shows that the child continually strives to perform "meaning tasks". The linguistic system is one realization of the "social semiotic" or "system of meanings that defines or constitutes the culture" [ibid.:139] and, through social interaction involving language use and the exchange of meanings, the child acquires the society's meaning system and language. In learning to converse, a learner must learn what meanings it is situationally appropriate to exchange (e.g., in what situations meanings related to weather, state of health, or business can be exchanged). Thus, language learning involves learning a system of meanings [ibid.:8, 80] and language use is primarily, not the production of correct sentence forms, but the exchange of meaning using words and combinations assumed to be suitable from previous experience [cf. Francis 1975:36]. In producing sentences, the child's semantic competence is of primary importance; words are concatenated because the child's knowledge and that of his listeners allow him to assume that the desired meaning will be recognized even before syntax is developed. To the extent that any linking of words and concepts implies syntax, grammatical competence is involved though clearly in a subsidiary role which, however, assumes more and more significance as a grammatical system develops allowing the child to rely less and less on assumed meaning, context and situation [cf. ibid.:141].

Throughout, it is evident that the focus is on meaning and that meaning is pre-requisite to language learning. The learner seems to learn most efficiently as he seeks the way to express a pre-existing meaning or concept [cf. pp. 432-434].

In the words of De Villiers and De Villiers [1974:16], a semantic heuristic precedes a grammatical rule; the most basic elements of language are concepts rather than syntactic configurations, and the child seeks the regularities in the language that let him express these [cf. Bowerman 1976:102]. Thus, the expression of meaning has priority over the form that expression takes, and one would expect, as Halliday found [1975:10], that the form adopted will be consistent but may well not resemble that used by the adults who surround the child. As he wishes to perceive and express more and more options of meaning, however, the child comes to recognize the utility of the syntactic system, to develop that, and to conform to the adult model [cf. ibid.:26, 71]. Thus, language learning, despite the focus on meaning, cannot be explained solely in semantic terms since the child also acquires and learns to utilize the formal possibilities of the language [cf. also Bowerman 1976:102-103].

The focus on meaning rather than form and the notion of language learning occurring while meaning is being exchanged is reinforced by observing the feedback the child receives from his parents. Brown and Hanlon [1968:42-48] found that parents rarely expressed approval or disapproval of syntax or morphology but attended rather to the meaning being exchanged [cf. Campbell and Wales 1970:254; Macnamara 1971:60]. Slobin [1965:8-9] also notes that it is semantic complexity rather than structural characteristics that determine the order and rate of development of grammatical rules, the conditional, which is relatively simple in form, nevertheless emerging late.

Similarly, the successful L_2 learner seems to focus on meaning and seems to learn the language best as he seeks for meaning and its expression [cf. Stern 1974:27-35]. This leads Macnamara [1971:61] to conclude that the teacher should concentrate on what the learner says rather than on how he says it. Furthermore, meaning must be prior to perception of syntax in language learning since relationships and their expression could only be perceived if meaning was first intuited from context, situation or knowledge of the world. Thus, meaning is necessarily central to both L_1 acquisition and L_2 learning.

LEARN THROUGH SOCIAL INTERACTION

"Meaning" is not a discrete entity to be transmitted but includes features resulting from the assimilation and accommodation of an "object or event" into extant psychological structure (i.e., an idea or concept exists only in relation to other ideas and concepts and with the individual's own interpretative contribution) [cf. Elias and Ingram

1977:Chapter 2, Part A]. Learning that focusses on meaning necessarily is dependent on interaction and, in any case, language is essentially a form of interaction between people [cf. Halliday 1974:11] with communication implying both a giver and a receiver of a message. It is through interaction that the semantic system is developed especially because language acquires its function-based meaning from what it can be used for and because it is through interaction using language that the child explores reality. Halliday states:

> *...the semantic system is constructed in the process of interaction. The pragmatic mode of meaning, language in action, creates the need for complex semantic configurations; while the effective response to the demands which these express creates the conditions for their continued expression and expansion...*
>
> *We readily assume that the semiotics of social interaction - the interpersonal component of the semantic system - is constructed in the course of interaction; but it is no less true that the construction of a semiotic of reality - the ideational component - is also an interactive process.* [Halliday 1975:104, 106]

Halliday goes on to state that the child's primary task is to construct a system of meanings, his own model of social reality. It is a cognitive process but one that necessarily occurs in contexts of social interaction through the continual exchange of meanings. Meaning is, thus, a social act and learning language is learning how to mean in the society with which the individual interacts [cf. ibid.:139-140]. For these reasons, Halliday [1974:15] defines language as a "form of interaction...learnt through interaction".

Looking at specific linguistic components, Halliday [1975:49, 51, 58, 112-113] shows that the learner masters discourse through dialogue, which is vital in teaching him to adopt, accept and assign linguistic roles, an essential process in successful language use beyond the earliest levels. Brown et al. [1969] suggest that it is during conversational exchanges that the underlying syntactic structures become most evident. Francis [1975:56-61] found that the more "social speech" occurred the more complex were the structures she observed and social speech seemed more propitious than monologue for development. Nelson [1973:31, 70, 94, 107-108, 110-113] reports a strong correlation between the types of mother-child interaction and the child's language development while Cambourne [1971, 1973] found strong positive correlations between all measurements of language proficiency and opportunities for dialogue (i.e., social interaction). One reason for this is that language performance entails competence in managing human relations as well as linguistic competence.

Clearly, interaction is of fundamental importance in L_1 learning and, in L_2 learning, courses that utilize it have proved more effective. Thus, courses based on "social survival" skills including seminar and other discussion skills have been more successful than the usual de-contextualized "conversation" courses [e.g., Morrow and Johnson 1975; Rogers 1975; Wallace 1975]. The Chief Examiners [Chapter Two, pp. 152-154] deplored the repetitive simplicity of the language of matriculants, most of whom experienced little social interaction using the language whereas those who had such interaction during overseas travel had more highly developed skills. O'Rourke's study of vocabulary learning [1974:20, 62] leads him to consider language interaction supported by rich environmental experiences as crucial in promoting learning. Milon's developmental studies [1974:143] favoured interaction with the native-speaking peer group over the teacher's intervention or feedback. Corder [1975] also stresses the value of interaction with native speakers and suggests that one reason for its highly beneficial effect is that native speakers intuitively simplify their language for learners and match their language to the learner's needs as parents seem to do with child L_1 learners [e.g., Power 1972:5]. Clearly, interaction plays an important role in language learning and strengthens the case for oral teaching methods.

However, there is some evidence that monologue may also be an effective learning macrostrategy, perhaps because it provides surrogate interaction but also because it involves initiating language, the opportunity to test the formulation of utterances, much active use of the language, and probably a receptive, if imaginary, audience. Francis [1975] examined the role of monologue in child language acquisition, where it occurred frequently and seemed to provide a means by which the child's actions and experiences enlarged his language. He phrased and rephrased his remarks, his speech following his actions and seeming to allow him to explore new forms of expression using new combinations of items and teaching him discourse structure as it followed a series of related actions [cf. ibid.:63-64, 211].

No studies of the role of monologue in L_2 learning seem to be available but intuitively one would suspect it to be a useful strategy since it greatly increases the learner's active use and initiating of language and allows him to experiment with it.

FORM AND TEST HYPOTHESES: CREATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The macrostrategies so far observed are important because they enable the learner to try out syntax and lexis, i.e., to form and test hypotheses about the linguistic system he is experiencing [cf. Nelson 1973:40; Slobin 1965:2; Richards 1973:116]. Chomsky's notion [1965:25, 27, 32, 33] of an innate language acquisition device attributes to the child the task of sifting through a set of possible hypotheses about the nature of the language he is experiencing and selecting a grammar that is compatible with the data. Starting from innate presuppositions about the form the language can take, the learner creates linguistic rules (or hypotheses about the nature of the language) that are assessed during comprehension and production [cf. Rosansky 1975b:70; Slobin 1965:2]. "Errors" are brought to his attention when his communication attempts fail or when others modify his utterances in some way. This process provides feedback that shows the learner the limits of the hypothesis or rule on which he is operating and leads him ultimately to modify his rule system. Thus, the grammar is acquired by a process of hypothesizing, testing, evaluating, modifying, and ultimately attaining the adult model [cf. Kessler 1971:13; Bowerman 1976:140-141]. Clark [1974] showed that the child juxtaposed, combined and re-combined existing structures to express his meaning until the right transformations to provide the standard surface structure emerged. Slobin [1965:4-5] refers to the autogenic nature of language development as the child holds a new pivot word constant and plays with a variety of open-class words. Nelson [1973:110 and cf. 40] concluded that a child whose mother continually dominated the situation progressed slowly because she was unable to test her hypotheses about the language against their acceptance by the environment. Carol Chomsky [1969: 74-75] noted that in acquiring the *ask* rule, for example, the learner formulated a rule and then applied it, sometimes too little or too much, until he finally attained the standard rule. Halliday [1975:75] observed the same process as the child acquired the mathetic function. As he learned about his world, he used language to explore it, observing and predicting the objects and events that he experienced. Thus, the forming and testing of hypotheses is a fundamental process in language learning as the child, striving to communicate, observes language and actively re-creates its grammar for himself [cf. also Hymes 1967:130-133].

On the other hand, Braine [1971:155-168] argues convincingly against the hypothesis-testing model on the grounds that learners rarely receive negative feedback when their syntactic hypotheses are wrong because listeners respond to the content rather than form of utterances and they often cannot know what correction should be made; in addition, learners are often unable to use the feedback that is received (i.e., their grammar exhibits strong impenetrability). Braine [ibid.:171] concludes that exposure is sufficient for learning to occur, the mechanism scanning the data and responding to those properties to which it is sensitive. The learner learns from positive instances only since the mechanism is strong enough to withstand the intrusion of "unsystematic noise" (i.e., false examples) [ibid.:167-168]. Nelson's evidence that feedback, especially negative feedback, was of little value supports Braine's views as do Brown et al. [1969] who found that expansion was less beneficial than a varied model. It is possible, however, as Brown suggests [1973:412], that, though specific feedback on particular structures has little value, feedback that shows the communication act to be successful or not may be more fruitful. It is also possible that the adult, who is more aware of social judgements made on the basis of his language, will be more sensitive and responsive to negative feedback and to linguistic forms. One can conclude that L_1 learners formulate hypotheses about the language which they progressively refine in the light of their on-going experience.

The progressive formulation and modification of rule-hypotheses is observable in L_2 learning and produces the L_2 learner's approximative systems [Nemser 1971] or interlanguage [Selinker 1972]. Thus, Tucker's [1974] study of the English performance of Arab students led him to suggest [ibid.:6] that they proceeded by forming, testing and modifying rules about the language. It seems, then, that the forming and testing of hypotheses about the language is a strategy in L_2 learning as it is in L_1

acquisition and is one of the processes by which the learner creatively constructs the language system for himself. Corder [1967:26], in fact, considers it a vital strategy and recommends against the teacher's always giving the correct form in feedback in case it stops the learner's more "instructive" process of forming and testing hypotheses. However, the comment above on adult learners should be noted since it suggests that feedback may assist in preventing fossilization.

CREATIVE CONSTRUCTION. If the "creative construction" principle holds, children, rather than imitate or reproduce from rote memory, will give signs of constructing utterances for themselves using their own model of the language. Francis [1975:136, 138, 140] reports this in recall tests where the "errors" that occurred showed that children were not passively recalling but were actively constructing replies, the resultant utterances being grammatically acceptable but different from the original. This creative ability, whether it is manifested in single utterances or in rule systems, is, in Bowerman's view [1976:104], the fundamental ability that a theory of language acquisition must account for. Brown et al. [1969], Braine [1971], Nelson [1973], and Dulay and Burt [1974] have noted the lack of effect that explicit instruction, positive reinforcement of correct structures, and correction of incorrect structures have on the child's language. Rather, his innate predisposition leads him to create his own rules and progressively resolve the mismatch between his own and the standard adult model [cf. Rosansky 1975b:43; Brown 1973:412]. The environment is, thus, less direct in its influence than a feedback model of learning would suggest and though the emphases in the environment do emerge in the child's language to some extent [cf. Nelson 1973:84], the effect is not immediate and, if it is too directive and hinders the child's own selecting and creating process, development is retarded [cf. ibid.:84]. Halliday's studies [1975:75, 80] reinforce the creative construction principle as he shows that, from the earliest stages, "Nigel" formulated his own often unique functional communication rules.

The same process of creative construction is observable in L_2 learning, a fact that is hardly surprising in view of the fundamental, deep-seated predispositions that it manifests and which, in the view of James [1972] and Richards [1972:183], make it unrealistic to expect the L_2 learner to go direct to the standard adult model circumventing the "errors" of an interlanguage. To attempt to do so stifles the natural processes and prevents communication in the same way that it would if the child learner were forced to produce only sentences acceptable to the standard adult model [cf. James 1972;

Richards 1972:183]. The process of creative construction is observable in the overgeneralization that characteristically marks a learner's language since here he is neither imitating utterances nor transferring L_1 structures [cf. Richards 1971, 1973; Jain 1974; Taylor 1975:393]. Dulay and Burt [1974a:132] estimate that most of the errors in their study (87.1%) resulted from creative construction processes like those used by L_1 learners. These intuitive processes were also used to explain the common hierarchical acquisition order for children with a wide range of first languages [Dulay and Burt 1975:29-30; 1974b:254-255]. Taylor [1975a] and Krashen et al. [1975] provide evidence that the same processes are observable in adult learners. Richards and Sampson [1974] note errors that reflect neither the L_1 nor the L_2 but rather, they suggest [ibid.:5], the learner's creative processes. Finally, it should be noted that the ultimate goal of language learning must be the creative use of language since learners must reach a stage where they can "let go" of rules or patterns and readily produce new, original utterances [cf. also Wilkins 1974:3; Tucker 1974:3].

The creative processes can proceed only if language experience provides the data for the learner to observe and with which to compare his own language. Consequently, learning is affected by the nature and amount of the learner's language experience.

VAST EXPERIENCE

In the rationalist view, the major contribution to learning comes from the learner but experience is needed to stimulate the innate mechanisms; experience thus causes the general structure of the language to be realized and elaborated as it draws out the schema inherited by each human being [cf. Chomsky 1965:51-52, 58-59, 1968:80-81; Selinker 1972:34; pp. 313-318]. Those factors that lead to extensive and varied language experience (number of outings and number of adults around) correlate with early development because of the amount and variety of language and language models they provide and because of the concepts the child acquires and to which he is encouraged to match language [cf. Nelson 1973:3, 58, 62, 95-96]. Brown et al. [1969:151-152] conclude that, rather than the "teaching" strategies such as expansion or extension of the child's utterances, it is wide, varied experience of language in discourse that most promotes language acquisition [cf. Francis 1975:51, 52, 62]. They noted, however, that the child who most rapidly mastered inflections was the child whose mother spoke least and they conclude that it is variety rather than quantity of speech experienced that matters. Strickland [1971:392] also concludes that extensive practical experience (i.e., meaningful and functioning in real communication) is more important than systematic experience because hearing structures lets them "feel right" when the child uses them. Though the language interaction of parents with children is more controlled and structured than previously thought [cf. Corder 1975], children are also surrounded by and experience the general language (e.g., on radio, television, and accompanying their family in everyday life) and, in any case, at advanced levels of development, their experience is more random. Whatever its specific role, clearly, wide, diverse experience exists in L_1 learning.

In contrast, such qualities are generally lacking in the typical FL classroom: the amount of language (especially oral language) experienced is restricted, few models are experienced (the teacher, some limited translation passages, and one or two novels), and there is little opportunity to develop concepts appropriate to the FL model of the world and to which FL items can be matched. However, where richer experience does occur, L_2 learning is enhanced. We have already seen that foreign travel (giving more experience and varied models) enhances the development of language proficiency [cf. Carroll 1967a:200, 203]. Similarly, the amount of time spent in FL study and in less formal experience of the language (and, therefore, the amount and variety of experience) determine proficiency reached [cf. ibid.:205].

Furthermore, the more extensive the learner's experience, the more frequently he is likely to experience any one structure and rate of acquisition is influenced by frequency of occurrence [cf. Schumann 1975:7; Brown et al. 1969]. In addition, each rule exists in relation to the language as a whole or, in Wilkins's terms [1974:81], any item exists within a network of intralinguistic (and extralinguistic) relations. Therefore, wide, varied experience is necessary to permit the relationships to be established, to ensure the coherence of the linguistic system developed and its relationship to the external world, and to provide those associative networks that facilitate memory and recall. Language learning inevitably imposes a heavy memory load, Beanblossom [1970:11] found that delay between instruction and test significantly affected FL test achievement, and wide, varied experience increases the likelihood of an item's recurring. For the advanced learner, this is especially important since there is more of the language to be remembered and, desirably, re-experienced.

Wide, varied experience is clearly important in language learning and listening provides one way to obtain it.

Nelson [1973:95, 45] found that early comprehension ability predicted early speaking ability and she stresses [ibid.:40] the importance of listening as a learning strategy. Studies of the neonate also provide evidence of listening as one of the most fundamental macrostrategies. Condon and Sander [1974:101] discovered that infants move in synchronization with the speech around them and they suggest that this lays down the language's rhythmic pattern, realized later in the form and structure of the language system and its suprasegmental and paralinguistic features. This helps to explain the early emergence of the suprasegmentals and, in contrast, the relative difficulty L_2 learners have in acquiring the L_2 suprasegmentals in the restricted language environment of the classroom. Francis [1975:211] suggests that the child's repeating of utterances promotes learning by increasing the "heard input" he experiences and helping him to perceive their structures and functions. The fact that the child is, himself, recalling and repeating the utterances suggests that he is contemplating them and their form and points to the "active" component of listening that contrasts it with hearing. Comprehension is not passively receptive but entails the listener's mobilizing his model of the world and his knowledge of the language to postulate alternatives of meaning [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977; Rivers 1972:Chapter 7]. Nelson's finding that watching television correlated negatively with language proficiency emphasizes the need for active involvement during listening experiences. This contrast emerges, too, where she notes [ibid.: 71] that a high rate of mother questions (requiring more active learner participation) was positively related to the child's proficiency while mother commands were negatively related. She also found [ibid.:79] high correlation between comprehension and subsequent production, indicating that covert language processing prior to production plays an important organizing role in language. Similarly, Penfield [1964:81] observes that the child hears a word for a considerable time (an estimated 2 to 7 months) before he uses it meaningfully. Aural experience is, clearly, a major factor in L_1 learning which it particularly promotes when it is accompanied by the learner's active involvement.

Listening is similarly beneficial to the L_2 learner. Postovsky [1970, 1974] found that a class in beginning Russian which had considerable listening practice did significantly better than one that followed a more traditional drill-based course. Carroll, discussing Postovsky's research, describes listening as having "some rather special effect on the brain...'wears grooves' in the brain" [1973:357] and he advocates "a massive amount of listening experience, so that the foreign student can to some extent catch up with the native speaker" [ibid.:358]. Strickland [1971] and Sinclair [1974:7] reporting on studies of second dialect learning note the emphasis placed on listening. Wakefield et al. [1974] looked specifically at listening as a macrostrategy when they examined the effect of briefly listening to a totally unknown language on students' subsequent ability to identify units (words and constituents). The effect was significant ($p<.01$) [ibid.:266] and shows the benefit of listening as well as the power of the innate perception and analysis mechanisms. The authors conclude:

> *The results indicate that limited previous exposure to an unknown language facilitates the identification of structural components of sentences in the language...*
>
> *The acquisition of the units occurred without formal teaching...[and] in the absence of referential meaning.* [Wakefield et al. 1974:267]

Even though feedback in the form of direct correction of his utterances may be of doubtful value to the learner [see pp. 341 - 347, and 355 - 361], feedback resulting from his own observations of the limits of his grammatical system may be more effective and lead him to modify his grammar [cf. Wilkins 1974:29]. Extensive listening (like feedback concerning the success of his communication attempts) may provide such a realization especially for the advanced learner who has acquired basic linguistic competence, has reasonable comprehension ability, and is able to attend to the refinements of grammar and style. In addition, vast listening experience helps to overcome the necessarily limited sample of language that the classroom learner experiences. Full syntactic or lexical knowledge is not possible through step-by-step procedures and continuing progress depends on the learner's observing new items in the language he hears [cf. Wilkins 1974:67-68]. Extensive listening experience can provide a wider coverage than reading or other learning activities, thereby extending and diversifying the learner's repertoire and ensuring more frequent experience of items.

Carroll [1973:358] stresses, however, that listening experience, especially at advanced levels, must be active. This ensures that the learner becomes aware of the distinctive properties of the utterances, structures and words he is experiencing. Mountford's [1975] study showed that receptive experience alone was inadequate since native speakers had apparently failed to intuit spelling rules from experience. Rather, the learner must be actively involved so that his attention is directed at those features to be learned.

Active listening is clearly a valuable macrostrategy in L_2 learning. Though the advanced learner has already had some 500 hours of tuition, in traditional classrooms much of that time is spent in listening to English and consequently he still needs massive listening experience.

FEEDBACK

The disputed value of feedback as a learning strategy has been mentioned several times. It has traditionally occupied an important place in L_2 teaching and warrants more detailed examination. It appears in two forms, feedback from others and self-monitoring.

FEEDBACK FROM OTHERS

The role of feedback or information to the learner about the adequacy of his language now appears to be both less important than and different from that which it was traditionally believed to hold. Francis [1975:211] considers it to be particularly important in L_1 acquisition since it informs the child of the acceptability of his rule system. The child's production of language is important because it "lays open to communal inspection the child's learning of the realisation rules of the community" [ibid.:211]. However, Kessler [1971:11] believes that the feedback-dependent model is not powerful enough to explain language acquisition and we have already seen arguments [pp.341 -347] by Braine [1971:155-168], Brown [1973:412], and Brown et al. [1969] that question the feasibility of feedback. In particular, parents rarely provide direct feedback on the acceptability of syntax or morphology but respond rather to the content of utterances [cf. Brown and Hanlon 1968:42-48; Campbell and Wales 1970:254-5; Macnamara 1971:60; Power 1972:2; Francis 1975:30-34].

It seems probable, in fact, that the child will benefit from feedback on the acceptability of a structure only if the corrected rule is already in his competence (i.e., if it is only a performance error that has been corrected). In fact, repetition of a structure has traditionally been used as a test of a child's competence [e.g., Clay 1971]. Fraser, Bellugi and Brown [1963:28] note that a child asked to repeat an utterance does so altering it to match his existing competence. McNeill [1966:69; 1970:106-107] illustrates the impenetrability of the learner's grammar with a mother-child exchange in which the child repeats the utterance "Nobody don't like me" eight times while her mother "corrects" her to "Nobody likes me", the child finally uttering "Oh! Nobody don't likes me".

Rather than being facilitative, the accumulating evidence suggests that negative feedback can be harmful to language acquisition. In Bruner's

[1975] study of mother-child interaction, negative feedback inhibited interchange and the more desirable role for the parent emerged as a source of the target model of language [cf. O'Rourke 1974:41]. Nelson [1973:93, 103] stresses the need for a favourable, receptive environment where the mother tries to understand the child and his view of the world and respond to his language. Her least successful Subjects had mothers who directed their behaviour, who imposed a world organization different from the child's, and who, through over-correction, repressed the child in his active communication attempts [ibid.:105-107, 112]. In contrast, her most precocious Subject experienced a highly receptive, encouraging and non-directive environment with little feedback [ibid.:104].

Nevertheless, the situation is complex: some feedback is needed, its complete lack is as unfavourable as rejection, but some children place less reliance on it than others [ibid.:103]. Nelson notes, for instance [ibid.:40], that some of her Subjects produced speech in order to test their rule system while others processed data internally. The form feedback takes is important. Bruner [1975] implies that favourable feedback occurs when the adult "picks up" meaning that the child has difficulty conveying and shows, in effect, how to express it. If so, parental completions and expansions would correlate with language development yet Nelson [1973:9] found no such correlation to exist. Brown's explanation [Brown et al. 1969:152] is more general and he concludes that language learning benefited from the richness of the data that appeared as sentences "shuttle between persons in conversation" assuming varied forms revealing different representations of the deep structure. Significantly, these representations are witnessed during actual communication as though it is only then that feedback is profitable, i.e., feedback desirably indicates the success of the communicative act in terms of the results it brings [cf. Campbell and Wales 1970:255]. In addition, feedback will be meaningless without communication attempts since, in making them, the child seeks the means to express himself and this search directs his attention to the limitation of his own resources and to the possibilities of the model he experiences, i.e., he perceives his needs and becomes more sensitive to satisfy them [cf. Francis 1975:100]. Thus, again, a receptive, accepting environment is most propitious to language acquisition since it encourages the communication attempt and provides feedback on its success.

The traditional FL classroom provides an environment very different from the picture of the L_1 environment that has emerged above. It tends to be highly directive, strictly controlled in the language that is experienced and used, intolerant of learner "errors", and it places heavy emphasis on negative feedback. Unlike L_1 conditions, the feedback is frequently considerably delayed until proses are corrected, by which time the communicative significance of the utterance and of the rule being tested is greatly reduced. Under natural L_2 learning conditions the type of "hostile" environment that embodies rejection of the learner's language and negative feedback leads to earlier fossilization. Thus, Richards [1972:161-163] contrasts the success of German immigrants in Texas in learning English with that of Puerto Ricans. The former, who are accepted socially, economically and linguistically, learn English easily and well while the latter, who suffer discrimination in the same areas, learn with more difficulty and suffer more interlanguage or dialectal fossilization. Burstall [1974] gives empirical evidence of the effect of the environment on L_2 learning. She found [ibid.:225, 227] significant differences in the linguistic proficiency of students according to the extent that teachers and head teachers approved or disapproved either Primary language teaching or the teaching of French to a particular class. A receptive, accepting environment providing positive feedback seems more conducive to L_2 learning.

Nevertheless, as with L_1 acquisition, this does not mean that no feedback is necessary. Freedman [1975] found that grammatical learning was less effective where the learner was left to intuit the rules without formalization and, hence, without overt feedback on the intuited rules. Krashen and Seliger [1976] studying formal and informal learning outcomes concluded that exposure alone failed to improve the adult learner's performance beyond a certain point and structured feedback was essential. Such feedback lets the adult learner identify and remediate specific difficulties [cf. ibid.:18-20]. Bailey et al. [1974:242] found that, despite similar strategies, L_1 and L_2 learners differed in the latters' need for feedback. Corder [1967:25] believes that errors are indispensable to the learner because of the feedback they provide on the adequacy of his hypotheses about the language; however, the feedback given should not pre-empt the learner's own heuristic processes [ibid.:26] although "post-systematic" errors may respond to overt correction and explanation. The adult learner who is better able to introspect his language and who is more aware of the social judgements made on his language is likely to be more receptive to feedback in all its forms and more likely to be able to utilize the information received than are children.

In all, it seems desirable that L_2 learners experience environments favourable to trying out the language in real communication acts, that feedback on the success of communication occur, and that an individualized grammar programme be provided to respond to the perceived needs. For this, learners must be motivated to attempt to communicate, the persons in the environment must be increasingly demanding so that the learners' sights are continually raised and fossilization avoided, and learners must be able to monitor their own language and compare it with the model experienced.

SELF-MONITORING

Feedback of the type just discussed requires that the learner introspect his language and, intuitively, such self-monitoring would seem possible at least with the advanced adult learner. This ability marks his leaving the elementary stages as he becomes conscious of the differences between his L_1 structure, the transferred forms he assimilates into the L_2, and the L_2 structure. This sequence is borne out by Cazden et al. [1975:32, 53] who argue that, at first, the learner assumes that the L_2 structure is the same as for the L_1; subsequently he realizes that they are different, avoids such transfers, and becomes more prone to hypothesizing and comparison of his interlanguage with the observed data.

The distinction Pon and Krashen [1975] make between consciously learned rules and naturally acquired rules is relevant and is reminiscent of Carroll's [1971a] distinction between learning rules and their habitualized application. In the study by Pon and Krashen, a highly proficient Chinese learner of English was able to correct 95% of her own errors and indicate the grammatical principle violated. It seemed that she had conscious knowledge of the rules involved but had insufficient time in talking to mobilize and apply them. Naturally acquired rules seem to be integrated with the thought processes, possibly significantly modify them (at least if some version of the Whorfian theories are accepted [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2]), and to operate subconsciously. Consciously learned rules seem to be available as a monitor when the language use situation is less stressful. Self-monitoring where the advanced learner consciously controls and modifies the structure of his utterances leads to his providing his own feedback, increases his experience of acceptable language, and can be seen as one stage towards the natural acquisition of a rule. Stern [1974:35] identifies one of the qualities of the good language learner as the ability to monitor his own performance, to compare it with the native speaker's, to be sensitive to the subtleties and nuances of the language, and to modify his own language accordingly.

In excess, self-monitoring would be detrimental if it were to inhibit the learner's communication attempts. It does, however provide a solution to a universal problem of formal language learning, viz., that a course necessarily deals with a limited corpus of the language [cf. Richards 1973:128], because it suggests the learner's ability to compare his language with and so learn from the standard model. It also suggests a role for the conscious application of rules in some circumstances and, therefore, that both formal and informal learning may be of value.

FORMAL vs. INFORMAL LEARNING

The discussion of self-monitoring has differentiated between natural language acquisition and conscious rule learning. The former seems to be the central and obligatory process while the latter is more peripheral and succeeds through conscious monitoring (comparable to the application of algebraic formulae) and by providing data on which the natural processes may operate. According to Krashen's distinction [1976 and cf. pp. 299-307], L_2 acquisition occurs in informal situations where the learner is actively involved in trying to communicate while L_2 learning occurs typically in formal (e.g., classroom) situations, isolates rules, and provides feedback that develops the learner's ability to monitor his own language production.

Both paths to language mastery are utilized by the adult L_2 learner.

Krashen finds justification for this distinction in the apparent incongruities in L_2 developmental studies. Some studies [cf. pp. 295-311, 412-419] have shown that L_1 and L_2 learners follow essentially the same schedule utilizing the same strategies while other studies using different tests have apparently found that the L_1 and L_2 develop differently. Krashen sums up his evidence:

> *The testing instruments used in both these studies (The Bilingual Syntax Measure and the SLOPE test) apparently tap only the acquired system in adults, as sufficient processing time was not available for monitor use. This explains the similarity seen across acquirers of different ages, as similar principles govern acquisition in all cases. When extra processing time is available, however, the consciously learned grammar is utilized as a monitor, and we see less agreement between learners of different ages and linguistic backgrounds.* [Krashen 1976:164]

Thus, acquisition and learning may go on simultaneously and both formal and informal environments and their associated strategies may contribute to L_2 learning. Elsewhere, Krashen [1975] quotes conflicting studies, some (such as those by Mason, Upshur, and Carroll) showing that informal "intake" situations were more effective and others [e.g., Carroll 1967] that formal study was important. Nevertheless, it is significant that the evidence that Krashen adduces from the Carroll study hinges on the significance Carroll found in the length of time spent in formal study, a factor which in no way excludes the possibility that formal study provides data on which the natural processes operate. Krashen concludes that what is needed is a situation in which informal intake environments and formal instruction both contribute to the total learning experience, i.e., methods that co-ordinate acquisition and learning may promote more efficient mastery. This could happen where formal learning is directed at those structures and functions developmentally most relevant to the learner's natural schedule [cf. Ingram 1974:72; Bailey et al. 1974:243; Kessler 1971:99]. Though L_2 developmental psycholinguistics is still too deficient in detail to enable syllabuses to be structured according to natural developmental schedules, an individualized programme of formal learning built around the learner's own needs as perceived during communication may utilize a developmentally more appropriate schedule [see Chapter Six, pp. 566-573, 589-608].

There is also evidence that formal learning supplementing self-monitoring may have an important contribution to make to advanced L_2 learning by mitigating fossilization especially where contact with native speakers is limited. Swain [1974:125-126] reports some fossilization of errors in children in Canadian immersion programmes and suggests that, where native-speaking peer contact cannot be increased, fossilization may be overcome by allocating some time each day to formal instruction involving feedback and drilling to correct errors. Krashen and Seliger [1976] came to similar conclusions in their pilot study of formal and informal learning. They do not reject informal exposure-type situations, but conclude [ibid.:19] that they cannot improve adult L_2 performance "beyond a certain point" and that the structured feedback of formal language instruction is necessary for further progress. Nevertheless, earlier discussion has shown that the natural processes operate at all times but especially in informal situations and where there is emphasis on learning through active use. Formal learning has a desirable support role guided by feedback given during active, communicative use of the language.

THE EXTERNAL CONTEXT

One definition of "macrostrategies" is the "external context of activities under which learning takes place" [cf. pp. 292-293] and there has been passing reference throughout this chapter to this context. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine the nature of propitious learning environments and the relationship between language and its social and environmental context.

We saw in discussing feedback [pp. 355-361] that a receptive environment is particularly important. We have also seen the differing roles of social interaction types [pp. 337-341], of formal and informal learning environments [pp. 363-366], and the subsidiary but stimulus role the environmental model plays in grammatical development [pp. 345-347]. We shall observe in Chapter Five the important mediating role language plays between the individual and the environment in personality development [cf. Halliday 1974:3-12] and its relevance to the L_2.

According to Chomsky [1965:33], the language environment serves as a stimulus and data source to the innate language acquisition processes and, for language to be learned, it must be experienced in real-life. Without the environmental context, the models of the world of the producer and receiver, and the extralinguistic functional purpose, language lacks meaning and cannot exist. It can not exist *in vacuo* but responds to and forms a part of a total context. Bloom [1970:233] stresses the contextualization of the child's speech, its dependence on environmental stimuli, and the need for the child to perceive critical aspects of contexts in order to extrapolate the use of structures from context to context [cf. Oller 1973:47-48]. Francis [1975:50, 64] stresses the importance of the learning environment in affecting on-going speech production, as the pool of information from which children learn, and as the source of the events about which the child communicates in the process of learning the language. The environment aids language use and promotes communication by compensating for competence deficiencies [cf. ibid.:37, 46; Chomsky 1969:106]. This accounts for the different results Kessel [1970] found when replicating Carol Chomsky's [1969] study of *tell* and *ask* with the addition of pictures to provide a situational context. The ability to use environmental clues plays a vital part in language development, extends communicative ability, and lets the learner experience successful communication: the context, Luria and Yudovich [1959] observe, is the glue that holds words together in a meaningful relationship [cf. Francis 1975:56]. Clark [1974:5] noted that children strung together words or "routines" that signalled their meaning and depended on the context to compensate for syntactic deficiencies and elucidate the meaning [cf. pp. 334-337]. Francis well sums up the learning and skills involved:

> *Children try to understand remarks that, in spite of mother's reductions, are too full of verbally encoded information to be grasped by them completely, and they rely a good deal on situational cues; while mothers, lacking sufficient information in the children's utterances, gain meaning by using their*

> *knowledge of whatever else seems relevant in the context. Language learning is constructing meaning for articulated sound patterns, and such learning must rest in the context of the use of speech.*
> [Francis 1975:46]

The child learner's language is firmly anchored in experience and context, welding the semantic relationship between words and things in the external world in a way that the abstract, decontextualized learning of the classroom seems unable to achieve [cf. Francis 1975:163, 172, 182]. Structures, for instance, can be integrated with their meaning and readily mobilized in communication only if they have been learned in context, experienced with their semantic referents. Only in this way can all aspects of language acquire meaning and, from experience in the limited examples of initial learning, be recalled and mobilized in all appropriate situations [cf. Bloom 1970:233]. As Francis states [1975:182], words (or structures) are not just words but cues to what is known about the world. Language, in Oller's terms, functions to "codify information about extralinguistic entities, relations, desires, etc." [1973:44] and pragmatics or the relations between language and the context of extralinguistic entities are as much a part of language learning as is syntax [ibid.:44-48]. Similarly, Halliday [1974:28] stresses that language does not exist in isolation but only in relation to a context of persons, actions and events from which it derives its meaning [cf. Nelson

1973:1].

The social structure, Halliday believes [1975: 128], permeates all interaction, being a part of the environment, affecting interpersonal interaction and role relationships, and containing the "social semiotic" or system of meanings that defines the culture of the speakers [ibid.:139-140]. If so, real language cannot be learned apart from the social structure; yet this is attempted in the traditional, de-contextualized language classroom. We shall see in later chapters that its learning is promoted if the L_2 is experienced in social interaction with native speakers within the L_2 society (or its realistic surrogate).

While language must be learned in context in order to become meaningful, it is also the context which stimulates development of more complex utterances. Halliday's Subject [1975:43] was motivated to move beyond the lexical mode by desire to learn about the environment. While communication about present objects or events may be possible without elaborated utterances, once the speakers are removed from their presence, greater elaboration is needed to clarify meaning and achieve understanding. That is, communication is promoted if the learner can utilize the context but he must also learn to handle less contextualized and more abstract situations [cf. Francis 1975:51; and, for L_2 learners, Holland 1970; Russell 1970a; and Chapter 1, pp. 16 - 20]. A similar motivation accounts, according to Francis [1975:76], for the more rapid development of predicate elaboration since the child can assume the listener recognizes what he is referring to and the motivation to develop the subject is less. Francis [1975], using mean length of utterances as a measure of complexity in children's speech, observed its sensitivity to context and the present writer has observed the same phenomenon in advanced L_2 learners involved in a course modelled on the proposals in this thesis.

Despite the emphasis that has been placed on the learner's own contribution to the learning process, the quality of the language environment also influences language learning [cf. Campbell and Wales 1970:253] and, in Carroll's view [1971:146] is the most important factor after innate abilities. Nelson [1973:62, 63, 71, 72] found that factors conducive to a language-rich environment correlated positively with language development, factors such as frequent outings, time spent with adults, and frequency of questions in contrast to commands. We have also seen that the quality of the environment can also be measured in terms of its receptivity to the child's communication attempts [cf. pp. 355 - 361].

Two contrasting but complementary features of a rich language environment are noteworthy. On the one hand, the child has random experience of the language, i.e., the activities that surround him let him experience a broad cross-section of the language in the context of which each rule exists and must be learned [cf. Torrey 1971:240]. On the other hand, people who speak directly to the child, especially the mother, intuitively modify their language, simplifying it and using short utterances [cf. Brown and Bellugi 1964:80; Corder 1975]. Francis [1975:38], in fact, estimates that the mother intuitively pitches her language at a level just slightly ahead of the child's performance [cf. Nelson 1973:5, 66] and Brown and Bellugi [1965: 80] note that the forms used emerge in the child's language some twelve months later.

The effects of the language environment are strong and are widely observed. They relate intimately to the nature of the language learning processes in the same way as, for example, we noted the relevance of a receptive environment to the "learn through use" strategy. They are sufficiently pervasive and significant to justify considering the structuring of similar environmental conditions for the L_2 learner.

We have already seen the importance of an accepting environment encouraging the learner's use of the L_2 [pp. 321-325] and the differing roles of formal and informal environments [pp.363 -366]. The discussion earlier in this section on the relationship between language and its context clearly emphasizes the need for the contextualization of the L_2 for it to be meaningful and to acquire the functional powers of the learner's L_1 [cf. Ingram 1974:76; Dulay and Burt 1975:32]. Like Halliday [1973, 1974, 1975], Le Page [1975] points out that a language only exists within its speakers' competence and their ability to utilize it in making society work: to isolate it, in L_2 learning, from society and purposeful achievement is to deny its essential nature. It must be learned through active, purposeful use [cf. pp. 328 - 331]. Thus, as Le Page comments [1975:140], learning is basically concerned with how, in another society, a sense of social identity expresses itself in each individual's concept of his *langue*.

Clearly, the nature of language and the pervasive nature of grammatical rules suggest that the L_2 learner requires the same wide, cross-sectional experience of the language that the L_1 learner has. Corder has also noted the similarity between the intuitively simplified speech that native speakers use with foreigners and the dialect of the child and its mother [e.g., Corder 1975]. In other words, the combination of diverse experience plus a controlled environment developmentally relevant to the learner's schedule would seem to parallel the natural situation, be in accord with the nature of language, and match the requirements of the innate learning processes. The central task for the teacher is to so structure these two contrasting factors as to maximize the quality of the environment and so best promote language learning [cf. Carroll 1971: 146].

However, despite the apparent need for the learner to experience a broad cross-section of the language, it is the learner, rather than the syllabus or teacher, who, as Corder [1967:23] says, controls "what goes in". Rado [1975] says his acquisition principles tell him what to observe: impenetrability characterizes his language, the learner filtering out what is not yet in his competence [pp. 355-361]. This was reflected in the results that Bailey et al. [1974:237, 240] found, in which the amount of formal tuition and out-of-class exposure did not affect the order of acquisition. This raises problems for the course designer since it is futile to present structures for which the learner is not ready. Hence, grammatical development in an advanced course will be best promoted where the learner has motivated, general experience of the language leading to his own identification of weaknesses to be rectified in individualized oral and written practice of the necessary rules. In addition, Francis's findings that social speech was more varied suggests the desirability of social interaction in varied settings for the L_2 learner if he is to overcome at the advanced level the repetitive simplicity characteristic of matriculants' language [cf. Chapter 2, pp. 90 - 91].

The general setting in which learning occurs also affects the motivational variables and the evaluative criteria applied to language which, in turn, influence factors such as fossilization [cf. Richards and Sampson 1974:7] and register [cf. Richards 1973:127; Savignon 1972:32]. The learner's relationships with the persons in his learning environment affect his empathy or integrative motivation, which affects fossilization. Pronunciation, for example, is particularly sensitive to social situation [cf. Tarone 1976:90-91].

L_2 learning cannot, in any case, be totally divorced from a social situation since language is inherently social and it is appropriate that the teacher give attention to the adequacy of the contextualization that takes place. At all stages, Oller would suggest that pragmatics (the relationships between linguistic units and their nonlinguistic settings [cf. Oller 1973:45, 47]) are as important as syntax and require that all learning take place in meaningful contexts; pattern practice or other grammatical learning should occur "in response to a paradigm of situations" rather than be just the manipulation of "purely abstract elements of a verbal calculus" [cf. Oller 1973:48]. In particular, the adequacy of the situation to enable the L_2 to acquire semantic and functional meaning is crucial and requires learning (i.e., language use) experiences in a richer environment than the traditional classroom. This applies to all stages of L_2 learning but especially to the advanced stage where semantic and functional meanings are being filled out and where the learner's manipulative facility is sufficient to permit the L_2 a nucleic and expanding operation in social interaction.

Savignon's [1972] study of communicative competence in L_2 learners supports these views at least to the extent of showing that the development of communicative competence includes more than the learning of words. She found [ibid.:55-56] that experience in talking with French people even in English had a positive effect on communicative competence. One explanation for this lies in Halliday's point that the culture shapes our behaviour patterns and is mediated through language:

> *The child learns his mother tongue in the context of behavioural settings where the norms of the culture are acted out...he is 'socialized' into the value systems and behaviour patterns of the culture through the use of language at the same time as he is learning it.* [Halliday 1974:21]

In other words, language learning includes, in part, behavioural learning and the learning of social processes [ibid.:15]. Interaction with native speakers in significant communication situations contextualizes language in behavioural patterns, integrates language and behaviour, and develops semiotic and communicative competence. Language learning is, furthermore, culture learning in that a culture is a system of meanings and communication or language use is the selection and expression of meanings within the system [cf. Halliday 1975:26, 66, 140]. Thus, in learning the language and its semantic system, the child or L_2 learner must be seen as learning the culture which contextualizes it.

In brief, language exists and is learned in context. Successful L_2 learning requires that the language be experienced and used in diverse situations for significant communicative purposes.

LEARNING LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS

Language that exists in an external context exists as a means to achieve communicative purposes, i.e., to carry out identifiable language tasks or functions. In considering the language of matriculation students, it was noted [Chapter Two, pp. 143-151] that most students entering the advanced stage lack functional mastery as a result of the traditional focus of language teaching on discrete "correct sentences" rather than on the purposeful use of language in real-life situations. FL teaching has traditionally seen such use as an ultimate goal achieved after the language has been learned. This contrasts with the nature of language and of L_1 acquisition.

Halliday's studies [e.g., 1975] show that language acquisition is, in fact, function mastery and takes place while the language is being used to carry out some task. Functions are themselves the ultimate goals, the first things expressed, and the source of motivation for syntactic mastery [cf. Halliday 1974:16]. The child develops grammar as a means of incorporating the functional potential into the linguistic system he observes and of simultaneously encoding several functions [Halliday 1975:48], i.e., functions are primary and, in seeking ways to express them, the learner acquires syntax [cf. Grunwell 1975]. Cazden et al. [1975: 45, 49] suggest, for example, that the early appearance of "can" in L_2 learning occurs because of its usefulness in expressing ability and requests. Francis's study [1975:62] also showed that it is "functional appropriateness" that the child seeks, formal regularity resulting from "systematic functional usage" rather than preceding it as traditionally happens in L_2 teaching. Savignon [1972:51, 53] found, in fact, that L_2 learners actually achieved higher levels of formal accuracy in courses based on functions (i.e., "communicative skills") than in courses focussing specifically on drills and formal accuracy. Nevertheless, semantic or functional learning does not replace the need for syntax. Bowerman [1976:103] points out that many aspects of language structure are purely formal and semantic concepts and functions are represented by socially accepted and necessary linguistic forms. Halliday [1975:128] observes that in operating functionally the speaker must make formal choices at various levels including the lexicogrammatical. Thus, natural L_1 learning is comprehensive and, in the light of Savignon's [1972] study and the success of other skill-based courses [cf. Cowie and Heaton 1977], there is a strong case for L_2 teaching to be comprehensive also with functional motivation stimulating syntactic development.

One possible reason for the apparent failure of FL learners in traditional school classes to acquire useful communication skills [cf. Chapter Two, p.154] is that they are not taught real language. A language is a system of meanings and the meaning is what the language can be made to do [cf. Halliday 1975:8, 11; Ingram 1974:76]; i.e., language exists within a functional context and, for the L_1 learner, as an integral part of his living [cf. Francis 1975:32]. He uses it as he seeks to comprehend the world around him and to manipulate it to suit his will. What the speaker can use language for affects his concept of what language is and the forms that it can take [cf. Halliday 1974: 20, 38; Halliday 1975:33; Francis 1975:214]. If it has no functional capacity, it is not a language no matter how many words and rules he knows. The present writer recalls his surprise when, after learning and teaching French in a traditional classroom for some years, he first used it in buying something in a Cambodian shop and in so doing actually manipulated others through the language in a real-life situation. Language expresses what a human being can do within his social and environmental context and, thereby, acquires meaning [cf. Halliday 1974:19]. It cannot be separated from behaviour and intention and the L_2, like the L_1, must be learned in association with them [cf. ibid.:19; Francis 1975:10] or, as Le Page states [1975:140], it must be learned within the L_2 society (or at least its surrogate) as a means of making that society work. Hence, language is "word-and-action" [Freire 1970:29] and this explains the greater communicative competence of the "communicative skills" group in Savignon's study [1972:53]. In componential terms, function-based teaching gives the learner the experience of mobilizing items to achieve desired tasks and of circumventing the restrictions of his linguistic competence.

Halliday's account of child language acquisition raises another issue of significance in considering advanced language learning especially amongst adults. He identifies [1969; 1974:17] seven functions in early child speech (instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, imaginative and informative) and their mastery is pre-requisite to L_1 acquisition. They initially occur discretely [cf. Halliday 1975:110-111] and it is only when vocabulary starts to be acquired that they can co-occur. Adult utterances are plurifunctional [Halliday 1974:42]; i.e., the adult L_2 learner has the notion of plurifunctional utterances, he is used to being able to mean much more in his utterances, and, consequently, his communicative expectations will, especially in the early stages, exceed his formal abilities. It would seem simpler at first if the learner were to focus on one function only at a time but in the advanced stage he must gain facility in handling plurifunctional utterances and in making formal choices at a variety of levels (e.g., lexical, syntactic, register, etc.). He will do so as the meaning he wishes to convey or the effect on the environment he wishes to exert becomes more complex and discriminating. This can occur only as his experiences of the language (especially in social interaction) become more complex, varied and interesting and as he has to use the language for a greater variety of significant purposes involving varied and often complex relationships with other people. The purposes must be meaningful to the learner, i.e., they must be relevant to his life as an adolescent or adult.

One effect of the adult's plurifunctional expectations of language seems to be that the imposition of a complex functional expectation on an unformed syntactic and lexical system inhibits speech production, perhaps because the L_2 learner's grammatical systems are overloaded. In contrast, the L_1 learner develops the systems integratively and concurrently (except to the extent that the basic functions develop first [Halliday 1975:37]). He, therefore, readily mobilizes language in response to functional need whereas, as we saw with matriculants [Chapter 2, pp. 143 - 151], the language of L_2 learners even entering the advanced stage seems to be functionally void. On the assumption that the L_1 developmental schedule is not fortuitous [cf. pp. 412 - 421], it would seem desirable that specific practice of the basic functions be provided even at the advanced stage if it has not occurred before. This is necessary to integrate them with the language, because they are fundamental in language and culture learning, and because they are basic to the more abstract functions of the adult language [cf. Halliday 1975:47].

Clearly, language functions are an integral part of what language is and how it is learned.

Though the L_1 learner acquires the notion of functions before L_1 acquistion occurs, functions remain important as a central focus for advanced L_2 teaching especially because, traditionally, teaching has ignored them at lower levels. Furthermore, advanced L_2 courses focussing on functions have had particular success. Wight [1971] showed that functions were more significant than lexis or syntax in improving performance in language-based tasks by learners of a second dialect. Widdowson [1972] points out that function-based courses are desirable because knowledge of how sentences are composed does not automatically lead to knowledge of how they are used in communication. Savignon [1972:51, 53] found that the experimental group whose course focussed on "communicative skills" (functions) achieved consistently higher on all achievement measures including communicative competence and accuracy. Finally, skill- or function-based courses for foreign students entering British universities have proved more effective than traditional "remedial" courses [cf. Wallace 1975; Morrow and Johnson 1975].

MICROSTRATEGIES

The discussion of macrostrategies provides the general context within which the microstrategies, the central cognitive processes, operate [cf. pp. 292 -295]. As with the macrostrategies [p. 292], the microstrategies are aspects of one total process perceived from different directions for the different teaching insights that emerge.

RULE ACQUISITION

It is particularly in the acquisition of the syntactic rule system that the microstrategies can be seen operating. In one sense, all language learning is rule learning since using language involves observing conventions whether in carrying out communication tasks or functions, uttering speech sounds, or combining words into sentences. In this section, the last of these (i.e., syntax) will be of prime concern. The justification for this attention is that all language use beyond the most elementary involves mobilizing words and combining them according to conventional syntactic rules without which linguistic communication cannot take place. In addition, syntax has always been a principal interest of L_2 teachers, linguists, and psycholinguists. Consequently, more information is available on the microstrategies that operate in acquisition of syntax than in other parts of the language and, because of the interest of teachers, it is particularly important if one wants to influence classroom procedures. Although the teacher is probably unable to alter the intuitive microstrategies, understanding their nature may enable him to structure learning activities to promote their effectiveness.

Behaviourism has characteristically regarded imitation and repetition (hence, rote memorization) as central language learning processes(or "micro-strategies"). Lewis [1959:48], for example, describes imitation as the one essential process in language learning [cf. Hill 1963:60-79; Skinner 1957]. Consequently, in the form of memorized dialogues and pattern drills, they became the principal L_2 microstrategies fostered in audiolingual and related teaching methods. For this reason, they are considered in this section though, it will be seen, they are probably more accurately interpreted as macro-strategies.

Undoubtedly language learning does involve some imitation (especially in pronunication and lexis [cf. Nelson 1973:52-53]) and, since it imposes a significant memory load, it is to some extent assisted by repetition. Clark's Subject [1974:4] produced "a number of routine unproductive sequences" that co-existed with simple productive rules which had originated in earlier invariable routines. Francis [1975:48] noted that her child started imitating from about nine months and that imitation was a learning strategy characteristic of all behaviour.

Yet, of itself, imitation is not enough to explain language acquisition since, to acquire a structure, the child must comprehend how it works and be able to make it work for himself [ibid.:50]. Hence, imitation is used to try out previously unnoticed elements to establish their function [ibid.: 211]. In this way, it is a part of the learner's active, seeking and initiating approach to learning rather than being passive repetition. At best, it operates as a learning strategy when it is initiated by the learner as he tries out the language in the hypothesis-testing process [cf. pp. 341 - 347]. Passive repetition made at the behest of parents or teachers seems to be without effect and, except where short-term memory is involved, probably cannot occur unless the learner has already acquired the structural rule [cf. Clark et al. 1974:52; Francis 1975:133; Clay:1971; McNeill 1970:105-107; Menyuk 1969:112-114; Ervin 1964]. In addition, many child utterances (e.g., *Why not me break that one?* [Brown, Cazden and Bellugi 1969:137], *allgone outside* [Slobin 1965:4]) could not result from imitation since they would not have occurred in the child's environment but result from the operation of his developing linguistic competence. Earlier, Brown, Bellugi and Fraser stated the general view (though their own study slightly qualified it in some circumstances):

> *...the child hearing a sentence beyond his present competence does not exactly reproduce what has been modeled but rather produces something resembling the model that is within his present competence. At a certain time if you ask a child to imitate* Why can't a dog talk? *he will come back with* Why a dog can't talk?

> *If you ask him to imitate* John, who called, is her brother *he will come back with* John is her brother. *Results like this suggest that imitation must work through the grammatical knowledge of the imitator and cannot extend beyond it.* [Brown, Fraser and Bellugi 1963:28]

Halliday [1975:65] found that his Subject did very little repetitive and imitative "practising" but made much "operational use" of what resources he had. Nelson [1973:78-79] concludes that although active use of the language advances the child's development, repetition and imitation are low-level strategies less useful the more advanced the language. At age 2 years, in fact, imitation was *negatively* related to language progress [ibid.:51].

The notion of repetition as a learning strategy emanates from that of imitation: the more an imitated response is repeated the more likely it is to recur (cf. Watson's principle of frequency [Hill 1963:37] and Thorndike's law of exercise [ibid.:58]). It leads to the heavy emphasis placed on drilling by audiolingual methods and traditional teaching. However, there is little evidence of much repetition in child speech. In Nelson's study, few repetitive sequences occurred and, like imitation, repetition was negatively correlated with all indices of language development [ibid.:54]. Halliday [1975:65] observed little repetition by the child but much creative use of his own resources.

Where repetition has been reported, it has been providing data for the "cerebration" process [cf. pp. 389-391]. Thus, Power [1972:4] observed much repetitive language behaviour by the mother to a preverbal child, some utterances (e.g., *change your pants, you a hungry boy?*) occurring up to 200 times a day. The imitative repetitions Francis [1975] observed were not passive but the child was using them in his own utterances, "savour[ing] them and mak[ing] them his own in several differently structured remarks" [ibid.:61].

Since passive imitation and repetition seem not to be central microstrategies in L_1 acquisition, it is unlikely that they should prove to be so in L_2 learning despite the extent to which the traditional school system has made them learned strategies. We have already seen the importance of active, creative strategies in L_2 learning. Oller and Obrecht [1968] showed that rather then drills promoting communicative ability, the reverse was true with manipulative skills being promoted by communication experience. Wilkins [1974:77, 36] observes that the more imitative and repetitive the learning task, the less it holds the learner's attention and the less able he is to establish the "boundaries of correctness" of the forms he is using [cf. pp. 325-328, 341-347]. In Burstall's [1974] study of primary and secondary school students, learners at all levels rejected passivity, repetition, and the incomprehension often associated with them [ibid.:244; cf. Diller 1971:88]. Advanced learners with greater short- and long-term memories could be expected to profit more from repetition [cf. Torrey 1971:235]; yet they also dislike the approach, it proves less efficacious, and the dialogues it is often based on are inevitably artificial and of little practical relevance [cf. Von Elek 1975; Von Elek and Oskarsson 1973 and 1975; Diller 1971:88; Smith 1970]. Lee et al. [1970] show that physiological arousal (measured by heartrate, galvanic skin response or breath rate) is needed before learning takes place; yet they found [ibid.:120-121] that pattern practice causes negligible arousal, insufficient for significant learning to occur while, as Brière observed [1971:391], it increases boredom and decreases motivation. The utterances of Hakuta's [1974] Subjects contained memorized chunks of speech but they seemed to produce them while they investigated their form and use [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:64]; that is, imitative repetition, where it occurs, is not passive but active and exploratory. In all, imitation and repetition do not seem to be effective L_2 learning microstrategies despite their frequent occurrence in language classrooms. They may, however, have a role in "cerebration".

CEREBRATION

Despite the evidence against repetitive learning activities as effective microstrategies, some studies mentioned above [e.g., Hakuta 1974; Francis

1975; Power 1972] suggest they may act as macro-strategies giving the learner an opportunity to ponder upon or to "mull over" data. This may both assist memory and give the learner time to perceive the structure, analyse its form and function, integrate the new rules and items into his total language resources, and speculate upon their use and contextual appropriateness. Cerebration seems to be the function of the monologues Francis's Subjects engaged in [1975:63-64], the monologues "allowing the exploratory formulation of new remarks" in which previously learned elements were rearranged. This also seems to be what Nelson [1973:53-54] means when she calls imitation an "accommodative strategy". Brown [1968], in studying Wh-question development, argues that the first examples he noted were unanalyzable "routines" and Clark [1974] made similar observations with her Subject. In both cases, it was as though the child was contemplating a structure so that its syntactic import and possibilities might become clear to him [cf. Clark 1974:5].

Pattern drills may serve a similar purpose in L_2 learning, one that differs considerably from the rote memorization role such drills have traditionally had, one that is more active and which best operates in response to individual need. Hakuta [1974] suggests this is the function of the memorized chunks of speech he observed in his L_2 Subject [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:64]. The "cerebration" process seems to be what Van Passel [1974] envisages when he describes L_2 learning as "un processus de maturation qui exige une durée nécessaire à l'assimilation des connaissances" [ibid.:137].

OBSERVE

At all stages, the motivated learner observes the language data that surrounds him. He does not do this indiscriminately but according to certain psycholinguistic principles. Braine [1971:171] posits hierarchic scanning mechanisms which determine which properties will be preferentially noticed at each stage. Wakefield et al. [1974] found that Subjects listening to an unknown language were most sensitive to morphemes and structure even in the absence of referential meaning and they suggest it was the suprasegmental features that enabled these to be perceived. Slobin [1973:191-208] has identified seven principles which (except for some better considered as operating strategies) broadly indicate the aspects of the data which the L_1 learner observes: attend to word endings, attend to word order, attend first to basic linguistic units and avoid re-arranging them, observe how underlying semantic relations are marked, avoid exceptions, and observe markers of semantic significance. Semantically, the learner is obeying intuitive principles that lead him to identify those features that facilitate expression of meaning [cf. Rado 1975], i.e., that mark the underlying semantic relationships [cf. Bowerman 1976:102].

By judiciously presenting new sentence forms, the L_2 teacher can promote the fundamental, observing strategy. Smith [1971] recommends, for example, the meaningful presentation of sentences followed by discussion that elicits the semantic relationships and their expression. Questions to elicit the relationships prompt re-expression of the original surface forms and lead the learner to intuit alternative transformations and related surface form options. This also fosters a more desirable notion of expression than the "one right way" of traditional language teaching and its prose translations.

PERCEIVE REGULARITIES

In observing features that mark meaning, it is especially the regularities that the learner perceives. Slobin [1965:7; 1973:207] notes that children are sensitive to patterns (i.e., regularities) and that they acquire semantically consistent grammatical rules early. Thus, irregular past verb forms first emerge as vocabulary items but as soon as one or two regular forms are learned they are overgeneralized to all verbs. Similarly, the child's sensitivity to principles or regularities in the data accounts, according to Carol Chomsky [1969: 109-110], for the ready acquisition of pronominalization when the necessary cognitive maturation level has been reached. Francis [1975:165] states that teachers' inadequate rules cause confusion in the early stages of literacy and she suggests that children are best able to discover the patterning for themselves. Bowerman [1976:104-105] broadens the notion of regularities to see it as fundamental in "creative" use of the language as the child perceives similarities in situations and generalizes lexis and syntax to new contexts. Whatever children's learning mechanisms are, they are sufficiently robust to enable them to perceive regularities even when, as in Braine's study [1971:168], "unsystematic noise" contaminates the data.

The same innate ability to perceive regularities functions as an L_2 microstrategy. One of the most striking indications of this occurred in the study by Wakefield et al. [1974] referred to earlier [p.353]. Miller [1958] found that Subjects were better able to recall strings of letters concatenated according to a finite state generator than random strings even though they were not aware of the rules on which they were formed [cf. Carroll 1963:1073]. Lenneberg [1967:364] suggests that the child L_2 learner attends to similarity of generative principles (i.e., similarity in underlying forms and transformations) rather than to surface structure forms. Smith's method [1971] referred to above [p.392] is essentially aimed at encouraging the learner to perceive deep structure and transformational regularities and Reid's approach [1973: 485] using drills and materials based on a transformational grammar has similar aims.

Clearly, learners are sensitive to regularities that exist in the data and this enables them to treat the data systematically.

SYSTEMATIZE

The learner not only perceives regularities but imposes them, i.e., he systematizes the data he experiences and produces language that is consistent and systematic. Francis [1975:35] refers to Waterson's phonological studies and suggests that it is the systematic nature of the child's phonological system that enables the mother to comprehend his speech despite the difficulty experienced by others unfamiliar with the system. Brown and Fraser [1964] observe that the child's errors reveal the systematic nature of his language. Halliday [1975: 10] stresses the systematic nature of the child's set of meanings and their oral expression. Nelson [1973:102-103] points out that the child brings to bear an "organizing hypothesis as to how language is used" (e.g., expressively or descriptively). He organizes all information received into "perceptual-cognitive constructions" and any that will not fit is lost [ibid.:3]. In Piagetian terms, all retained experience is systematized by a process of assimilation and accommodation into the learner's developing model of the world [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977: Chapter 2].

Systematization is also observable in L_2 learning. Stern [1974:27-35] identifies as one of the characteristics of the good language learner a methodical but flexible approach which develops the language into an ordered system constantly being revised. Nemser [1971:59] noted the systematic nature of an Hungarian learner's English with its distinctive phonological structure and an "autonomous organization" of syntax. Tucker [1974:6] similarly observed the systematic language behaviour of Arabic students of English and the process of rule formation and modification it reveals [cf. Dickerson 1975:405-406]. Corder [1967:24] states that the learner's language, at every stage, is systematic, his errors providing evidence of the system [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:3]. In structural terms, systematization, according to Dulay and Burt [1974b:254], is essentially a process of the learner's reconstructing rules for the speech he hears. This reconstruction occurs on the basis of existing knowledge or innate principles [ibid.:254-255]. At first, the L_2 learner systematizes the data by analogy from his L_1 but as his L_2 system develops he becomes less reliant on the L_1 and proceeds autonomously [cf. Taylor 1975:88]. As he does so, he develops his system by processes of simplification, generalization, transfer, and avoiding whatever is unknown.

SIMPLIFY. The learner seems to simplify the data observed or at least to utilize the least syntactic system that will enable him to communicate efficiently. Such systems contain rules of maximum generality [cf. Brown and Hanlon 1968:49] which only gradually become more complex and detailed. This is reflected, for instance, in the hierarchic development of structure observed in the L_1 learner [cf. McNeill 1970:Chapter 3; Brown, Cazden and Bellugi 1969], in his tendency to use unmarked forms, and in his use of juxtaposition to mark relationships represented in the standard dialect by inflections, prepositions and conjunctions [cf. George 1972:56]. This process leads to efficiency and economy in learning by reducing the quantity to be remembered and by regularizing the grammar [cf. Richards 1975: 74; George 1972:57]. Thus, for instance, irregular past forms of verbs are learned first but as soon as one or two regular verbs are learned, the regular form is over-generalized to all verbs [cf. Slobin 1965:7]. Case markings and rules for sentence types are mastered before the learning of morphology and morphophonemics is complete especially if the semantic import of the latter is carried redundantly in other ways (e.g., by word order) [cf. ibid.:8; Kessler 1971:78].

Similar strategies of simplification leading to efficiency and economy in learning and production are evident amongst L_2 learners [cf. Richards 1973:128]. Corder [1975] suggests that all speakers have a "sheaf of grammars" to be used in differing situations and this includes a reduced and simplified form for use with foreigners. It is marked, for instance, by word order fixity and simplification of inflections and is similar to that used by L_2 learners. However, Corder also points out that the interlanguage is not really a simplified form since the learner has not a full version to simplify. Rather, the standard variety is a more complex form that emerges through hierarchic development. Learners' "simplified" forms reduce the redundancy of the language experienced, as is illustrated by the omission of articles, plural markers, past tense markers and other grammatical formatives [cf. Selinker 1972:40]. Tarone [1976:100] shows that L_2 phonology tends to be simplified to a basic consonant-vowel pattern; and Ervin-Tripp [1974:116-117] notes the L_2 learner's resistance to anything (such as inflected pronouns in French) which complicates the system and observes that the learner will even use the L_1 rule if it is simpler [ibid.:121].

Richards [1973:127-129] sees the learner's attempts to reduce the learning burden as a process of assimilation and illustrates it with his own over-use of *je vais* for both intention and futurity when he was learning French. Jain [1974:196-197] shows how Indian learners simplify English by making all verbs transitive or intransitive with *-ing* in progressive aspect (e.g., *I am having a very heavy workload this semester*) [cf. Taylor 1975:395]. Richards and Sampson [1974:14] point out the tendency to over-use words of broad semantic extension or those learned first.

Simplification is a fundamental process enabling the learner to handle the data as he communicates. It includes the process of generalizing a rule, perhaps of limited applicability, to a larger number of instances.

GENERALIZE. Taylor [1975:75] defines overgeneralization in the L_2 as "target language syntactic simplification" while Richards [1975:74] describes it as regularization of L_2 grammar (i.e., rules are given maximum applicability). In L_1 learning, Slobin [1965:7] illustrates it with the overgeneralized regular past forms (e.g., *it breaked*). Carroll [1963:1073] observes the strong tendency for learners to follow analogic patterns, sometimes reflected in incorrect forms [cf. Richards 1971:174]. This process demonstrates the learner's creativity, since he is neither imitating others nor transferring from his L_1 [Taylor 1975:393], and is a natural and powerful learning strategy [cf. Richards 1973: 120; Taylor 1975a:88]. Less generalizable structures seem to pose most learning difficulty [cf. Kessel 1970:49] and, in the Chief Examiners' Reports, exceptions or irregularities were the most prolific source of error [e.g., Chapter Two, pp. 76 -109].

One form of generalization is transfer (i.e., generalization from the L_1 to the L_2), but more errors are explicable by intralanguage generalization especially when the L_2 is being developed as a unified and co-ordinated system using natural language learning processes [cf. Bailey et al. 1974: 242]. Such errors, Richards and Sampson [1974:6] suggest, result from generalizations based on partial exposure to the language and the consequent generation of non-standard rules (such as the use of *don't* as a negator observed by Cancino et al. [1975:425]). Thus, as the learner systematizes the data, he generalizes from his limited experience to generate widely applicable rules. If this generalization takes place on the basis of the L_1, transfer occurs.

TRANSFER. Transfer was long thought to be the major source of error in L_2 learning [e.g., Lado 1961:14]. However, more recent studies show that transfer is much less frequent [e.g., Fathman 1975; Ervin-Tripp 1974:117, 126; Wode 1976:7, 14; Taylor 1975a; Jain 1974; Richards 1971; Dulay and Burt 1973, 1974c]. Thus, contrastive analysis often predicts problems (e.g., the *he-she* distinction in English for Spanish speakers) that do not, in fact, occur [cf. Selinker 1972:42]. Dulay and Burt [1975:26; 1974a:134] conclude that transfer is non-existent in child L_2 acquisition while Bailey et al. [1974:242] conclude that adults process language similarly to children and that errors are intralingual and due to universal language learning strategies. Where transfer does occur, it is now viewed not so much as the persistence of a language habit [cf. Lado 1961:13-14; Diller 1971:18] as the over-generalization of an L_1 rule [cf. Richards 1975:75] in a false economy of learning [cf. Vildomec 1963; Torrey 1971:237]. It occurs at a stage when the learner is unfamiliar with the new linguistic system and over-reaches in trying to communicate [cf. Taylor 1975a:88; Corder 1975; and pp. 377-383].

Nevertheless, interference errors do still emerge and Cazden et al. [1975:10] claim that the transfer contention is by no means resolved. Richards [1971:172-173] suggests that interference errors occur in phonology rather than in syntax. Tarone [1976:especially 89-90] partly confirms this since her studies of interlanguage phonology showed transfer to be the dominant process influencing syllable structure, a phenomenon she attributes to muscular habit and psychological inability to modify the criteria used to categorize speech sounds. Freeman [1975:418] acknowledges universality in order of acquisition but notes also that speakers of a common language sometimes differed from the universal schedule and that such deviance was explicable by transfer. Tran-Thi-Chau [1975: 133-134] found that half the errors in a grammar test for English-speaking learners of Spanish were explicable by "interlingual interference". According to Ervin-Tripp [1974:121], such transfer is most likely if the L_1 and L_2 rules partially overlap or, in accord with the simplification principle, if the L_1 rule is simpler. It is possible, also, that transfer is more likely with older learners who have some formal knowledge of the L_1 structure, have more capacity for conscious grammatical reasoning [cf. Penfield 1953], and are more prone to consciously compare both languages [cf. Corder 1975].

The fact that generalization occurs on a basis of existing knowledge suggests that transfer is more likely at early stages before the L_2 system is significantly developed. Corder [1967:26-27] says that the L_2 learner has only one hypothesis to test (viz., whether the L_2 system is the same as the L_1 system). When he realizes that the former is different, his task is to establish what it is like. It is, therefore, not surprising that a number of studies show that transfer is more likely at earlier stages of L_2 development while, at more advanced stages, the learner is more likely to generalize from his observations of the L_2. Taylor states the frequently recurring view:

> *...these results appear to indicate that learners of a second or foreign language begin relying on their ability to analogize, systematize, and regularize the target language data to which they are exposed immediately upon beginning to learn the new language. Because of their lack of familiarity with the new linguistic system, however, they also rely extensively on their native languages for support. With increased proficiency in the target language, they rely proportionately less frequently on their native language grammar, and rely more frequently on their ever-increasing knowledge of the target language, coping directly with it and overgeneralizing its rules.* [Taylor 1975a:88; cf. Taylor 1975:398]

For this reason, Richards [1975:75] considers that interference illustrates creative language use since it involves using an old form (from the L_1) to express a new meaning or function. This accords with the view of language learning as a creative process involving the assimilation and accommodation of new information into extant cognitive structures [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter Two; Taylor 1975:394] and its application to new situations. The study by Cancino et al. [1975:425] of Spanish speakers learning English negation bears this out. They first seemed to hypothesize that English negation was the same as Spanish and placed *no* in front of the verb. Next the hypothesis seemed to be that the English negator was *don't* placed before the verb. Thus, the utterance was based on previous knowledge and a rule developed. Cazden et al. [1975:32] in studying the acquisition of negatives also showed that the first assumption L_2 learners make is that a structure will be like the L_1 but, when they find it is not, they observe the L_2, deduce a feature of it, and generalize this into a rule [cf. Schachter 1974; Richards 1973:121-122]. Wode [1976:24, 25] recognizes that L_2 learners follow ordered developmental sequences but she also found that transfer occurred. However, she believes that there is still insufficient evidence to know under what conditions it occurs although it seems to be related to the nature of L_1 and L_2 structures since it occurs "only if L_1 and L_2 have structures meeting a crucial similarity measure" [ibid.:25]. The more similar languages or structures are, the more likely it is that transfer will occur [cf. Torrey 1971:225-226].

Clearly, transfer is an important microstrategy but one which is less frequent than had been believed during behaviourist days [e.g., Lado 1961:14]. It is more likely to occur in earlier stages than later when the learner tends rather to rely on observation of the L_2 and generalization from the features observed. These later strategies would seem more desirable since they permit the development of the L_2 as a unified system and avoid habitualizing translation as an operating strategy. However, some teaching strategies (e.g., a contrastive analysis or traditional grammar-translation approach) discourage the learner from progressing beyond transfer strategies [cf. Richards 1971:179]. More desirable approaches develop the L_2 grammar as an ordered, autonomous and unified system with the teacher aware of likely problem areas but using intra- rather than inter-language contrasts. In addition, learners who can voluntarily restrict what they say generally adopt forms within their existing competence whereas, in learners forced by their teacher to exceed this and produce utterances comparable to their L_1 in structural complexity (e.g., in proses), interference will be maximized [cf. Corder 1975; Ervin-Tripp 1974:121-122].

Transfer, it seems, is a natural microstrategy but one that is less frequent at advanced levels and when the learner is free to find alternative expression for unknown structures.

AVOID THE UNKNOWN. There is evidence that the learner becomes aware of lacunae in his knowledge and avoids what he does not know [e.g., Richards and Sampson 1974:14]. He seems to try to operate within the system that he has acquired [cf. Corder 1975] but extends it in response to a growing awareness of a deficiency in it [see also pp. 361-363]. Halliday [1977] observed that "Nigel" seemed to monitor himself and was aware of when his language was inadequate to characterize a situation. Carol Chomsky [1969:78] gives examples of Subjects avoiding utterances of certain types as if they recognize what they don't know. In another case, some Subjects were totally at a loss to answer grammatically (using *wh-clauses*) but, of one boy, she says:

> *It is as if his rule system makes a try, and reports 'Can't handle it'.*
> [Chomsky 1969:59]

It seems that this learner was about to acquire the rule as if he had at least reached the stage of being sensitive to the fact that there was a structure he did not know. This contrasts with learners' insensitivity to structures for which they are not ready. This was illustrated in Chomsky's study [ibid.:80-81] by a child who continued to respond incorrectly to a structure despite twice hearing her partner responding correctly. Schachter [1974:210-211] found her Japanese and Chinese Subjects made fewer errors in English relative clauses than Persian and Arab learners. For the former, however, the English structures were less like those of their L_1, they anticipated greater difficulties, and, hence, avoided structures they were unsure of.

Tran-Thi-Chau [1975:135] studied the sensitivity of L_2 learners to learning difficulties and concluded that they did have insight into them, often bringing forward factors that contrastive and error analysis were unable to predict.

When one considers the universality and regularity of the L_2 developmental schedule and the need for the learner tacitly to compare his language with that of the environment and to modify it accordingly as development continues, the notion of a schedule of sensitivity seems reasonable. This view receives further justification from those studies which see language development occurring as the learner seeks the linguistic match for meaning or cognitive concepts [cf. Bowerman 1976:102; Nelson 1973:98, 100, 101]. This notion of the learner's sensitivity to structures for which he is ready has profound implications for L_2 teaching since, at least at the advanced level, it suggests that the learner may be able to introspect his language needs and direct himself through an individualized grammatical programme. Such a programme could best respond to his felt needs and provide intensive experience of those structures for which he is "ready" [see Chapter Six, pp. 566-573, 589-608].

ACTIVE RULE SEEKING

It is already clear that the learner actively seeks, imposes, and acquires rules about the language.

Chomsky, stressing the child's innate predisposition to rule formation, says he "cannot help constructing a particular sort of transformational grammar to account for the data presented to him" [Chomsky 1965:59]. In the earliest stages, the child adopts rules which, according to Halliday, have nothing to do with adult language but enable him to "mean" something. The "rule" in this case is the constant relation that exists between content and its expression [cf. Halliday 1975:14, 24]. In the second phase, the child adopts regular tonal markings to distinguish functions [ibid.:75] while later he starts to evolve rules that increasingly match those of the language about him. The child's imposition of his own rule system is strikingly illustrated in Slobin's study of child acquisition of Russian. Russian word order is flexible but Slobin's Subjects [1965:5-6] adopted fixed ordering until morphology was learned. Brown and Bellugi [1964:91] observe that the child is seeking the latent structure (i.e., fundamental rule system) of the language. Carol Chomsky [1969:3] states that the child's task is to construct for himself a set of rules similar to that of the adults around him. Brown [1970], McNeill [1970] and Menyuk [1969, 1971] provide many examples of the rule-based nature of child language and this accords with recent linguistic views of language and the speaker's linguistic knowledge:

> *..by a generative grammar I mean simply a system of rules that...assigns structural descriptions to sentences...every speaker of a language has mastered and internalized a generative grammar that expresses his knowledge of his language.* [Chomsky 1965:8]

This knowledge is not necessarily conscious and nor is the search for the appropriate rule system. Chomsky continues:

> *This is not to say that he is aware of the rules of the grammar or even that he can become aware of them... Any interesting generative grammar will be dealing, for the most part, with mental processes that are far beyond the level of actual or even potential consciousness... Thus a generative grammar attempts to specify what the speaker actually knows, not what he may report about his knowledge.* [Chomsky 1965:8]

Brown and Hanlon [1968:49] adduce "ungrammatical" forms like *I goed, I don't see something,* which the child would not have heard in adult speech, to show that he has learned a rule that he applies, in these cases, to excess. They agree with McNeill that the child seems to prefer a small number of rules of maximum generality [ibid.:49]. Francis [1975:37] disagrees with Brown and Fraser [1963] that the child systematically reduces adult forms and argues that he uses the adult sequences as clues but imposes his own structure on the basis of his existing rule system. Elsewhere, Francis disputes the transformational generative view of the child's language but nevertheless agrees that the child acquires markers that systematically convey functional differences [ibid.:96]; where his acquired competence is insufficient for his needs, he invents his own system [ibid.:100].

In discussing the creative construction process, we saw that the L_2 learner creates his own rule system following his innate predispositions and moving towards the standard adult model [pp. 341-347]. The regularities he perceives [cf. pp. 392-394] are simply incipient rules. Slama-Cazacu [1975] has stressed that L_2 learning involves rule learning and much of the psycholinguistic research into L_2 learning involves writing rule-based grammars of the learners' language [e.g., Ravem 1970; Richards 1971; Kessler 1971; Cazden et al. 1975]. Torrey [1971:228] defines language learning as the acquisition of a set of rules and contrasts the child's regular observation of rules not consciously known with the L_2 learner's frequently conscious knowledge of many rules which he frequently violates [ibid.: 230]. Similarly, Dickerson [1975] concludes from her studies of the acquisition of English phonology by Japanese speakers that learner behaviour is sufficiently consistent to be captured in rules, but rules that are progressively modified according to the situation and the learner's developing knowledge. In the study by Cazden et al. [1975] of the L_2 acquisition of English negatives, it is clear that it is rules that learners are seeking.

Their first assumption seems to be that the L_2 rules will be the same as the L_1 rules and when they find that this is not so, they observe the L_2, deduce a feature for it, and then generalize this observation as a rule [e.g., Cazden et al. 1975:32; cf. pp. 399 - 404]. "Errors" that occur are utterances that differ from the standard native speaker model, are a necessary part of the language learning process, and reflect the stage of development of the learner's competence [e.g., Bailey et al. 1974:237]. Error analysis has led to the recognition of systematic, rule-based interim grammars, different from both the L_1 and L_2, formulated by the L_2 learner and progressively modified as his experience and use of the language continues. These interim forms of the language have been variously termed "interlanguage" [Selinker 1972], "idiosyncratic dialects" [Corder 1971], and "approximative systems" [Nemser 1971]. They emerge as the learner forms rule hypotheses and tests them against the utterances generated, the understanding of his hearers, and the observed data [cf. Torrey 1971:248; Schumann 1974:145].

Although natural L_1 learning seems to involve non-conscious rule formulation (though Carol Chomsky [1969:110] found that older learners seemed more conscious of the rule possibilities and were better able to introspect language), conscious rule formulation may also play a part in L_2 learning. Diller [1971:85-87], discussing Newmark and Reibels' 1968 paper, questions their rejection of grammar in favour of meaningful exposure and points out that, though meaningful exposure is essential, conscious grammar may be a powerful adjunct to it. This duality is implicit in Krashen's [1976] study of formal and informal learning environments and the differing roles they play (i.e., learning and acquisition). Krashen and Seliger [1975:20] suggest that whether rules are consciously learned or not, whether they are explicit or implicit, the important thing is that the learner receive the feedback needed to identify and remediate problems. This is particularly applicable to older, advanced learners and may help overcome fossilizations [cf. Richards 1973:131]. Burstall [1974:244] found that at least the more able learners wanted the conscious systematization of grammar rules. Von Elek [1975], reporting on the Gume Project, found that adults learned grammatical structures better with explicit explanations than by any inductive method although much active use of the language continued also [cf. Von Elek and Oskarsson 1973, 1975]. Similarly favourable results for explicit rule formulation were found by Freedman [1975] and Politzer [1967].

The apparent conflict between this discussion of conscious rule formulation and the earlier ones that emphasized natural (especially unconscious) learning processes is partly reconciled in Krashen's [1976] distinction between formal and informal learning and in Carroll's [1971a] observation that, even though language is rule-based, the application of the rules must be habitualized. Pon and Krashen [1975] suggest that unconscious "acquisition" (parallel to Carroll's habitualized application and a further stage beyond conscious rule learning) is involved in ordinary speech production but consciously learned rules are available to monitor the language produced [cf. pp. 361-363]. It would seem that the central processes in language learning are self-directed and operate spontaneously, naturally, and largely unconsciously. Conscious rule-learning or the "knowing" approach [cf. Rosansky 1975] should be seen as supportive [cf. pp. 361-363].

OUTCOMES OF LEARNING STRATEGIES

LEARNING SCHEDULE

The study of developmental psycholinguistics is still insufficiently advanced for a definitive and detailed statement to be made on the schedule that a learner will follow in either an L_1 or an L_2 [cf. Kessler 1971:1]. The ultimate importance of this line of research lies in the fact that, if a natural, universal, L_2 learning schedule could be established, a strong case would exist for sequencing an L_2 syllabus on that schedule [cf. Bailey et al. 1974:243]. Since the study of L_1 learning is somewhat more advanced than that of L_2 learning, the L_2 teacher might wish to ask what the L_1 schedule is, whether it is universal for all learners and all languages, whether the L_1 and L_2 schedules are the same, whether the learners' age and cognitive development affect the schedule, whether contextual factors affect the schedule, and whether an L_2 syllabus can be based on either the natural L_2 schedule or the L_1 schedule. No incontrovertible answers are possible to these questions though some general trends in the research findings are emerging.

The general view is stated by Torrey:

> *All children follow a certain similar pattern of progress toward language, a pattern that is not fully known, much less imposed, by adults.* [Torrey 1971:223; cf. also Richards 1973:115]

It is clear that learners, whether of an L_1 or L_2, do follow some sort of structural grading [cf. Diller 1971:88-89] from less to more complex [cf. Kessler 1971:78, 99], and with hierarchical development of constituents [cf. McNeill 1970:32]. Where different ordering is observed in different studies, it is often the result of differing testing techniques. This is evident if one compares

Carol Chomsky's [1969] L_1 study with Kessel's [1970] replication of it. Furthermore, Krashen [1976] showed that L_2 tests that allow extra processing time tap both consciously learned and acquired knowledge while more rapid tests tap only the latter. Schumann [1975:2] shows that results based on the Bilingual Syntax Measure (which gave a universal ordering for all age groups and language backgrounds) differed from those (such as Hakuta's) using spontaneous speech. Other discrepancies emerge where studies making overall generalizations are compared with studies of individual children [cf. Bowerman 1976:152-153]. Thus, different schedules emerge according to the test type, the processing time it allows, and the way in which the results are presented. Nevertheless, some generalizations about learning schedules can be made.

UNIVERSAL ORDERING

There is strong evidence that children follow a common path to L_1 mastery. Lenneberg [1967: Chapter 4] relates language acquisition to a fixed species-specific cognitive maturational path. In Chomsky's study [1969:46, 54, 121], a common order of acquisition emerged even though the children differed in rate of acquisition. Though Kessel's [1970] ordering differed from Chomsky's, it too was invariant. O'Donnell, Griffin and Norris [1967], also studying relatively advanced learners, noted differing rates of advancement but a "remarkably constant" order [ibid.:91]. Wells [1974] found a clear order of emergence of clause types which was independent of the number of semantic units involved (e.g., "agent function", as in *Mary sang*, emerged later than "agent cause directional change of location" as in *Alison put the sweater on the chair* [ibid.:263]).

L_2 studies, though sometimes more conflicting, also provide substantial evidence of an intrinsic, universal order of acquisition. Studying the acquisition of grammatical morphemes in adult ESL learners, Freeman [1975:418, 419] found that cognitive maturity, affective variables, and order of teaching had no effect on order of acquisition. Cazden et al. [1975] comparing the language acquisition of children, adolescents and adults found little overall variation even in the one woman who had had formal instruction. Similarly, Fathman [1975] found no significant difference in order of acquisition despite differences in age, L_1, and learning environment. Wode [1976] studying German children learning English and English children learning German, decided that L_2 acquisition followed an ordered sequence [ibid.:3, 18, 24] and Krashen et al. [1975] also found that adult L_2 learners of English followed a common order irrespective of their L_1 [cf. Bailey et al. 1974:240]. Kessler's [1971] study was somewhat different and examined the simultaneous acquisition of two languages in Italian-English bilingual children. She found a "remarkable parallelism in the sequencing of syntactic structures" [ibid.:55] with any variation seeming to result from differing transformational (hence, language-specific) complexity [ibid.:76, 96].

The question of the similarity of the L_2 and L_1 schedules is still disputed. Cazden et al. [1975:6] summarize studies by Ravem (of English negation and Wh-questions), Dato (Spanish), and Milon (negatives) all of which show the similarity of L_1 and L_2 schedules. Ervin-Tripp [1974:126] found L_1 and L_2 acquisition stages were the same for production but not for comprehension. Krashen et al. [1975] suggest that the L_2 order could be different from the L_1 but the main difference arises from differences in children's and adult's immediate memory [ibid.:49-50]. Wode's [1976] study of German and English children learning each other's language showed L_1 and L_2 acquisition not to be parallel [ibid.:3, 18]. Bailey et al. [1974:237] conclude that adult learners follow a schedule resembling a child L_2 learner rather than a child L_1 learner. Dulay and Burt in their numerous studies show major similarities in child L_1 and L_2 acquisition but they do note some differences in acquisition order resulting, they say, from differences in the cognitive development of L_1 and L_2 learners [e.g., 1975:28-29; 1973:256].

The conflict in these findings is resolved, perhaps, in Krashen's realization that both L_2 acquistion and L_2 learning may go on, the former, which resembles L_1 acquisition, typically occurring in informal situations and the latter in formal classroom situations. This results in differing schedules differentially revealed by tests making different demands on the learner especially in terms of the rate of response required. When extra time is allowed for responding, the consciously learned L_2 grammar intervenes as a monitor and produces results different from the L_1 schedule [Krashen 1976:164].

Some individuality in ordering emerges even though group studies reveal an identifiable common order [cf. Kessler 1971:98; Bowerman 1976:153]. Bloom [1970:227] notes some individual differences in L_1 sequencing and concludes that they result from differences in interaction between cognition and experience for different children. Cancino et al. [1975:429] found "highly variable" orders in L_2 acquisition of English auxiliaries and negatives. Wode [1976:23] notes major commonalities in L_2 sequences but observes that there is room also for some individual variations and any theory of L_2 acquisition will have to account for both. Richards and Sampson [1974:11] imply that the inevitable differences in the circumstances of L_2 learners cause individual differences within a predictable general pattern. In all, L_2 learners seem to follow the same general path to language mastery but within that path some individuality may appear.

It is not yet possible to offer a satisfactory cause of the acquisition schedules [cf. Chomsky 1969:110] though some factors are evident. Many researchers refer to the learner's innate mechanisms [e.g., Corder 1967:23]. Cognitive maturation is undoubtedly a factor [cf. Strickland 1962: 24-26, 37-43; Loban 1966:56; Lenneberg 1967:Chapter 4; Chomsky 1969:110; Bloom 1970:228; Kessel 1970:51; Halliday 1975:134; Francis 1975:96, 106]. Linguistic causes include the regularity and distinctiveness of the forms [Chomsky 1969:4; Richards and Sampson 1974:13] and their frequency of occurrence [Cazden et al. 1975:61]. Semantic and grammatical complexity seems to influence the L_1 schedule [Brown 1973: 404] though Dulay and Burt [1974b:258-259] show that this is not so for the L_2. Richards and Sampson [1974:14] draw on Russian studies to show that it is conceptual rather than grammatical complexity that is the significant factor in late emergence. Politzer [1974:250] points out that the sequence of cognitive processes that determine the L_1 schedule need not affect the L_2 since cognitive levels are different. Yet many L_2 studies (as has been seen above) show that order is independent of age, maturation, L_1 or environment [e.g., Fathman 1975: 39, 41].

IMPLICATIONS

Whatever its nature and cause, a common L_2 schedule does seem to be followed at least in the major developmental stages despite some indiviual-ity in detail. Even such tentative findings have important implications for the teacher and syllabus designer.

Developmental studies may eventually provide the syllabus designer with a more objective basis than personal intuition on which to schedule his course and they already throw suspicion on sequences which differ significantly from the natural L_1 or L_2 schedules. The individuality that has been observed emphasizes the need for the teacher to allow some individual direction in each learner's programme. If it is the learner's contribution that is all-important and if he is pre-programmed to follow a largely fixed schedule using preferred learning strategies, neither teacher nor syllabus designer is free to arbitrarily determine the progression of the course [cf. Torrey 1971:249; Kessler 1971:99]. This is particularly so if, as Rosansky and Nash suggest, each stage is "critical", being pre-requisite to subsequent stages [cf. Rosansky 1975b:87]. Language learning will be best promoted when language teaching matches the learning needs required by the learner, his learning processes, and the language. The focus of the programme will fall less on the traditional aspects of language teaching (method of rule presentation, correction, contrastive analysis, mechanical drills and their design) and more on activities that motivate the learner to use the language but leave him free to learn in his own way using the strategies identified in this chapter. Mechanical activities will be replaced by learner-initiated creative activities based on real language use [cf. Slama-Cazacu 1975; Fathman 1975:43].

The learner must be led to infer the rules from a rich and meaningful language environment so structured as to facilitate his perception and internalization of the rules he is most "ready" to acquire. Some supplementation by "drills" will be appropriate but their purpose will not be mechanical conditioning but rather to focus the learner's attention on the developmentally relevant structures, to facilitate the "cerebration" process, and to habitualize the application of the rules. Such "drills" must occur in response to felt need within the intrinsic schedule and hence be individualized rather than dependent on the exigencies of an arbitrarily designed grammar course.

Two principles are fundamental: first, that the learner be motivated by being actively, meaningfully and purposefully involved in the learning task as an initiator of language and, second, that he be led to an understanding and creative command of the L_2 syntax [cf. Ingram 1974:74-75]. Furthermore, no complete, detailed knowledge of the grammar (developmental or synchronic) of any language is available and could not be taught if it were (because of time limitations). The only solution is to ensure that the learner is "taught" to learn and has his creative language skills developed [cf. Wilkins 1974:3]. Though the detailed knowledge needed for syllabus design is still not available, provided the focus falls on the learner, this deficiency is less important. Rather, activities and experiences must be provided that stimulate the natural learning processes and permit the learner to follow his own path utilizing his own strategies. Where formal grammatical teaching is required (and there is some evidence that this can be beneficial [e.g., Bailey et al. 1974:243; Krashen 1976; see also pp. 363-366]), this must be individualized and appropriate to the learner's real needs.

NATURE OF ERRORS

We have already seen that both L_1 and L_2 learners best acquire the language when they are encouraged to use it. It is inevitable that in so doing "errors" (or forms that differ from the standard adult dialect) will appear. Such forms reflect the learner's transitional competence and attempts to prevent them by exaggerating the learner's monitoring process are likely to stifle his willingness to use the language and so inhibit the central language learning processes [cf. Corder 1967: 26]. In any case, there is little evidence that negative feedback has any significant long-term beneficial effect on the learner or that the learner can be hastened through his successive approximative systems by "correction" [cf. pp. 355-363; Dulay and Burt 1974a:135].

We have already observed that the learner, rather than add one complete pattern to his language at a time, develops his language hierarchically by gradually differentiating within the basic constituents and rules and diversifying the transformations [cf. McNeill 1970:32; Kessler 1971:20]. Until the elaborated form is attained, the intermediate forms will appear erroneous in comparison with the standard form. In fact, an hierarchic approach is observable at all stages originating in the learner's initial attention to functions and followed by attention to syntax and lexis. The traditional L_2 approach which teaches rules and lexis followed by the use of the language clearly reverses the natural hierarchic order in an attempt to avoid "errors" in words and structures. It also imposes fully elaborated sentences on the learner in conflict with the natural "simplification" strategies [cf. pp. 396 - 398].

Rather than being "pathologies to be eradicated" [Richards and Sampson 1974:18], "errors" should be seen as the inevitable by-product of the learner's acquisition processes [cf. Schumann 1975:145; Dickerson 1975:406; Taylor 1975:395] and as necessary to inform him on the limits of his rules [cf. pp. 321 -325, 355-363]. Such an attitude stimulates the learning strategies observed in this chapter, encourages students to express themselves in the language, and gives them experience in mobilizing what resources they have available as they strive to use the language to achieve effective communication [cf. Savignon 1972:52; Richards 1973:129].

INDIVIDUAL LEARNING STYLES

We have considered the strategies generally observable as a language is learned but not all are equally utilized by all learners: some individuality in learning styles is observable with important implications for the L_2 teacher.

Nelson's [1973] study of L_1 acquisition identified at least eight "language-learning patterns" with two main semantic and functional types, "referential" or "object-oriented language" and "expressive" or "self-oriented language" [ibid.: 22]. She also noted [ibid.:40] differences between those who process language internally and those who make greater use of feedback from others and talk earlier and more copiously [cf. Halliday 1975:9-10]. She stresses [1973:101, 114] that there is no single path towards solving the language learning problem that faces all children. Which strategies are chosen depend on the child's stage of development, his cognitive style and organization, his perception of the function of language (e.g., expressive or referential), and the mother's strategies [ibid.:116]. She argues [ibid.:113] that imposing learning strategies may not prevent learning but the child may advance more rapidly if given freedom and encouragement to use the language and utilize those strategies that best suit him.

Bloom [1970] notes a certain commonality in each child's approach to language acquisition but also some differences in rate, strategies and schedule of acquisition resulting from differences in "the interaction between cognitive function and experience" [ibid.:224-227]. In solving the complex language learning task, according to Francis [1975:205], a variety of strategies are possible and no single mechanism is necessarily or inevitably involved.

Similarly, individual L_2 learners select differently within the general pattern of learning strategies. In her study of Primary School French in Britain, Burstall [1974:224] distinguishes high-achievers, who prefer rule-based approaches, and low-achievers, who prefer audiovisual approaches, and she stresses that "no single method is equally appropriate for all pupils" [ibid.:244]. Rivers [1975], referring to a study by Evelyn Hatch, distinguishes "rule formers" from "data gatherers". She goes on to stress that, within each group, learners acquire the language in their own time and their own way. Similarly, Cazden et al. [1975:35] studying the development of the auxiliary in English-L_2 learners found that individuals varied even though an overall pattern emerged. Krashen and Seliger [1976:19] note individual differences in learners' utilization of formal instruction and natural situations as a result of differences in age, motivation, educational background, and learning strategy. Stern [1974:27] gives as one of the marks of the good language learner the possession of his own personal learning style and there is evidence [e.g., Lee 1970:33] that previous language learning experience leads learners to develop their own styles and this facilitates subsequent learning.

The educational process teaches students to learn in certain ways (e.g., by reading and writing, by analysis and synthesis) and this inevitably affects how they go about learning a language especially in a formal situation [cf. Nida 1957: 41]. Such acquired strategies may pose major problems for the teacher of advanced learners if they have adopted unsatisfactory strategies (e.g., habitualized translation approaches) and they may have to be encouraged to change them. Nevertheless, the point remains that some individuality in learning styles (both natural and acquired) does occur and the teacher must organize his programme in such a way that each student is able to use those strategies he finds most effective.

LANGUAGE, THINKING AND COGNITION

The relationship between language and cognition has been discussed in some detail elsewhere [Ingram and Elias 1974; Elias and Ingram 1977]. There, the importance of matching language and conceptual structure (or model of the world) was stressed if fluency in using the language receptively or productively is to be achieved [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapters 2, 4, 5]. The stimulus to Gouin [1892] to develop his method of teaching an L_2 came from observing how a child set out to learn about his world, organizing it and matching it with his language as he told and re-told his experiences [ibid.:34-39]. Halliday's notion of language acquisition as a process of perceiving and expressing more and more options of meaning [e.g., 1975:26] emphasizes the intimate relationship that exists between natural language and the meaning system (or conceptual structure). Language mediates the cultural teaching which the child experiences and which shapes his cognitive and behavioural pattern. Thus language has a central role in social learning and, in turn, the child's active social experience affects the nature of his language and ensures its integration with his conceptual structure [cf. ibid.:59]. Wells [1974] also describes the integration of the child's language with his conceptual structure through the associations that develop between the structured language he experiences and the organized experience he has of the environment. As the associations are observed, so the interweaving of the two systems takes place and is further strengthened as the learner imaginatively re-experiences and talks about the objects and events [Wells 1974:255-256; cf. Vygotsky 1962]. Schlesinger [1974:45, 145] argues that the structure of the language influences the child in slicing up or categorizing non-linguistic experience, a process that integrates language and conceptual structure. Francis [1975:41, 104, 182] says that words are cues that signal what the child knows about the world and, in learning language, he seeks to relate words to categories in his knowledge of the world [cf. Bowerman 1976:102; O'Rourke 1974: 72].

Carol Chomsky's study also shows that semantic criteria are differentiated before syntactic development emerges [cf. Chomsky 1969:54 and 56] and Lenneberg [1967:374] states that language is much more dependent on cognition than vice versa. Nelson [1973] shows particularly clearly the concept-matching component in language learning. Her study is, in fact, based on the view that early speech reflects a prior construction of the world, a set of organizing hypotheses about the world, which is extended, refined, and, if necessary, re-organized in interaction with the developing language [e.g., Nelson 1973:3, 13, 97]. She states that "the child's language-learning problem is always to match his concepts with the symbols used by the environment" [ibid.:114]. Where this match is readily made because of the appropriateness of the child's preverbal cognitive organization and his language experience, language development will be facilitated. Where a match does not occur readily, retardation appears [ibid.:Chapter VI].

Yet this failure to match existing concepts and language necessarily occurs in L_2 learning where the L_2 is imposed over a pre-existing model of the world structurally matched to another language: in a translation approach to L_2 learning, for example, L_1 meanings are superficially matched to the L_2. The L_2 learner inevitably brings his existing L_1 conceptual structure to the language learning task but, if successful language learning involves matching language and concepts, he must be prepared to ignore the presuppositions that he imposes on perception and experience so that, in a sense, he can re-think his experience or re-organize his conceptual structure in order to match it with the new language. Passive classroom learning cannot achieve this but only superimposes the L_2 on the learner's L_1 model of the world. Instead, active methods that force the learner to use the language spontaneously in everyday activities (preferably in interaction with native speakers or their surrogates) are desirable. The matching process is facilitated in the classroom if formal learning takes place through the L_2 in a subject (such as Geography or Social Studies) that enables a broad cross-section of the learner's experience to be re-examined and re-organized in the L_2.

Furthermore, Nelson [1973:Chapter VI] shows clearly that language learning is best promoted where new items are acquired in response to the need to express a pre-existing concept. However, traditional L_2 teaching has imposed new items before the conceptual structure is appropriate or the need exists and this results in the same sort of debilitating mismatch as Nelson describes [1973: 108-110]. This typically happens in prose translations where, though a need exists, it is an artificially imposed need based on an L_1 concept. The search for the item of vocabulary or structure is not learner-initiated in response to a developing conceptual structure forming in the course of personal experience. Neither need nor the appropriate conceptual organization is present and a mismatch between language and concept must occur resulting in stultified expression and rapid forgetting (comparable to some of the less successful of Nelson's Subjects [e.g., 1973:109, 110]). It is possible that this partly explains the typical lack of success of traditional pre-session "remedial" courses which continue, in effect, to attempt to impose the L_2 over inappropriate conceptual structures and separated from empirically felt need [see Moller 1975; Davies 1975]. It is not possible for the learner to forget the knowledge acquired through the L_1 but he must be led to re-organize it and match the re-organized form to the language when he is operating in the L_2. An analogy can be drawn with Penfield's "switch mechanism" [1964:80-81] that enables a bilingual to operate within either language. Such a notion seems more acceptable than the existence of two discrete models of the world since knowledge gained through one language is sometimes as readily recalled through the other [cf. Richards 1975:72 but contrast Kolers 1968 and Kelly 1973].

The need is for ample opportunity for the learner to re-think his model of the world, to frequently re-experience the world through and in active association with the L_2, and to "switch" wholly into one or other model of the world. Francis [1975:63] notes how her Subject used language to plan his actions and express his intentions before acting [cf. Day 1974:69] and she suggests that this is a part of learning to think verbally. O'Rourke [1974:50] observes that the grammar of the language forces its logic on the child and it is especially the function words and relational markers (inflections, word order, discourse features) that relate ideas and provide the verbal representation of the mechanics of thought. If the learner is to be able to think in the L_2, he must develop facility in such items. In addition, however, thinking is the manipulation of concepts but this will not be possible if concepts are lacking due to insufficient meaningful experience or if they fail to match the L_2 because they were not experienced through it [cf. ibid.:58; Diller 1971:34]. The basic need is for the learner to have much meaningful experience of the language in active use, in re-experiencing the world through the L_2, and in re-expressing his accumulated experience.

RESPOND TO FELT NEED

Throughout this chapter, emphasis has fallen on the learner as an active participant whose learning is directed by innate processes. However, learning occurs only in response to need felt by the learner for language mastery in general and for each new item in particular. We saw this in the previous section with Nelson's [1973] concept-matching model of language learning [cf. also Bowerman 1976:102-104]. Wells and Macnamara [Wells 1974:267] suggest that the only way a child could learn "the appropriate logical operator" is if he felt the need for the item and seeks it in the language around him. Loban [1966:2] notes that over-protection retards a child's language development while the conscious need to express oneself promotes it. For this reason, he recommends [ibid.:79] that advanced learners' oral drills should be in (or at least followed up in) a context where the student has something he wants to say to someone he wants to communicate with. Halliday [1975:46] believes that the first structures appear in response to functional needs, in particular, the need to control others, to satisfy one's wants, and to explore the environment. Elsewhere, he notes [1974:16] that language is a means of attaining social ends and that this is sufficient reason why it is learned. Feenstra and Gardner [1966:11] argue that above average intelligence boys showed greater sentence and word length in written than oral language because, in the school system, children tend to write for adults but speak to their peers. Similarly, Francis [1975:66] found that fine manipulative or creative play evoked longer and more numerous utterances than other forms of play. The impenetrability of grammar [cf. pp.355 -361] provides further evidence since the learner seems able to acquire only those structures which his developmental schedule indicates as needed.

Similarly, response to felt needs seems to be the key stimulus to L_2 learning. Richards [1971: 177] suggests this as one reason why question forms remain universally difficult for L_2 learners at all levels since the redundancy of the language ensures that communicative need is satisfied without mastering more than the elementary rules of question formation. Schumann [1974:150-151] argues that, when need is re-awakened as a result of the function of the language changing from communication alone to integration and personal expression, the fossilization of pidgins disappear, the language becoming more complex and redundant with more standard suprasegmentals and a richer lexicon [cf. Cazden et al. 1975:5]. Savignon [1972:14] quotes Gardner's findings that integratively motivated students performed better in out-of-class contacts with native speakers (i.e., when the need was greater) than in the formal instructional environment of the classroom. O'Rourke's [1974] vocabulary development studies placed the learner's needs as the focal point for effective learning [ibid.:89] and the close match between learners' needs and course offerings seems to explain the greater effectiveness of "special purposes" and function-based courses for overseas students entering British universities [e.g., Wallace 1975; Morrow and Johnson 1975].

In summary, language learning (whether L_1 or L_2) is initiated by, and proceeds until it satisfies, the learner's communication and other needs [cf. Wilkins 1974:38]. For the advanced learner to continue to develop linguistically (i.e., for his language learning strategies[1] to operate effectively), he must be placed in situations where he will experience the need to match his language to that of native speakers in order to communicate, express himself, or relate to and identify with L_2 speakers more successfully. That means that stimulating relevant and interesting activities must be provided preferably in association with native speakers. The next chapter will discuss at greater length the nature of the need that initiates and motivates language learning and the relationship of that need to the learner's social environment.

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(1) Summarized in Appendix Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LEARNER IN THE MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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OBJECTIVES IN A MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT

In Chapter Four [pp. 366-377], the relationship between language and its external context was considered. In this chapter, language learning will be situated in an overall social context (viz., that of a multicultural society). Such issues warrant consideration since the social context within which a student is learning a language affects his motivation for learning, the needs the course is designed to meet, and, hence, its objectives and methods.

The development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes is clearly important to any multicultural society, whether a localized microsociety or a world macrosociety. The causes of unfavourable attitudes (prejudice, racism and ethnocentrism) will not be discussed here though a useful discussion appears in Milner 1975. Here, the concern will rather be with the part L_2 learning can play in counteracting unfavourable attitudes; this goal of favourable attitudinal development will be seen, broadly conceived, to be the central issue in language teaching in the multicultural society.

Halliday justly emphasizes its social importance:

> *The rubbish creep, the contamination of air and water, even the most lethal processes of physical pollution appear to be more tractable than the pollution in the social environment that is caused by prejudice and animosity of race, culture and class.* [Halliday 1974:3]

Such animosities can be reduced only when the members of the society have developed empathetic attitudes and an ability to communicate readily with each other. Furthermore, migration and the ethnic diversification of a society culturally enrich that society [cf. Johansson 1975] but this enrichment can only occur if the migrant's culture and identity (and, hence, his language) remain intact [cf. ibid.: 5], if the education system and general social attitudes do not tacitly or deliberately suppress the community's languages and cultures, and if all groups respect the cultural and linguistic integrity of the other groups and freely interact with them. In a migrant society, the object of education must, as was stressed in the UNESCO - FIPLV symposium on language teaching to migrant children, be to create a society open-minded to minorities, that is, "a multicultural society that accepts the challenge [and potential, one might add] set by the presence of groups of different ethnic origin" [Johansson 1975:5]. Fundamentally, the need is for each individual to accept the rights of others to be different [cf. Daniel 1975:8], to humanize themselves and others by allowing others the right of individuality and self-determination [cf. Freire 1970a:43-44]. This chapter will argue that L_2 teaching, suitably structured, develops such attitudes and encourages the sort of interaction necessary for the society's cultural development and the individual's personal fulfilment. Finocchiaro has well expressed such views:

> *The world, our countries and our communities will survive with faulty pronunciation and less than perfect grammar, but can we be sure they will continue to survive without real communication, without a spirit of community, indeed without real communication among peoples? Part of the answer lies in the hands of everyone in our profession. Seeking the truth to that answer is a challenge we cannot, we dare not, refuse to accept.* [Finocchiaro 1974:31]

In Chapter Two [pp. 159-169], consideration was given to the role of language teaching in a multicultural society such as Australia, a type of society whose pluralism is now typical of many parts of the world [cf. Johansson 1975] and, with modern transport and communications, of the world itself. There, the role of language teaching was seen to be tripartite: the development of communication skills, culture transmission, and attitude development. This chapter will consider especially how the last of these goals may be met: the discussion leads to an approach to language teaching and learning similar to that which the psycholinguistic considerations of Chapter Four produced. In other words, the learning activities which this thesis is led to advocate promote simultaneously the two major goals of L_2 teaching, viz., the development of a high level of language proficiency and the development of cross-cultural understanding and acceptance.

ATTITUDE CHANGE THROUGH EDUCATION

Most educational activities are accompanied by attitudinal changes of some sort. Dewey, for instance, stated:

> *Perhaps the greatest of all pedagogical fallacies is the notion that a person learns only the particular thing he is studying at the time. Collateral learning in the way of formation of enduring attitudes...is often more important than the...lesson in geography or history that is learned.* [Dewey 1954:49]

Freire [1970; 1970a:15, Chapters 1 and 3] clearly links education with humanization or dehumanization, with the teaching of values and attitudes leading decisively to social and political consequences [cf. Sanders c.1974:1]. Education, he says, cannot be neutral [cf. Sanders c.1974:4]. Milner [1975:35] says attitudes do not just occur but are taught and sustained in man's social life and studies he discusses [ibid.:241-244] illustrate how attitude change can be taught.

Nevertheless, there are surprisingly few studies that look at the effect of language learning on cross-cultural attitudes although there are many studies that examine the converse [e.g., Clément et al. 1977; Lukmani 1972; Lambert 1967, 1969; Lambert and Aellen 1969; Lambert, Gardner et al. 1968; Lambert and Tucker 1972; Gardner 1965, 1974; Gardner and Lambert 1972;

Gardner and Santos 1970; Spolsky 1969]. These studies generally reveal a strong correlation between integrative motivation (which is essentially a highly sympathetic cross-cultural attitude) and success in developing language proficiency [e.g., Lambert 1967, 1969; Spolsky 1969]. Comments made on the effect of language learning on attitudes tend to come as offshoots from other studies or from studies of bilingualism [e.g., Lambert 1967]. Furthermore, most of the studies measure attitudes only after language learning has occurred, often in bilinguals [e.g., Lambert 1969:295], and it becomes difficult to unravel cause and effect.

Gardner, Lambert and their colleagues provide the greatest source of motivational and attitudinal studies but their studies are generally set in Canada with some replication in the United States and the Philippines [e.g., Gardner and Lambert 1972: Chapters 3, 4, 7]. Analogizing to other countries with different demographic structures is difficult both because of the cultural dominance and aggressiveness of English and French compared with, for example, the community languages of Australia and because of the type of motivation selected for study. Generally, for example, these studies describe integrative motivation as the desire for membership of the other group [e.g., ibid.:132], an impractical aspiration for language learners in a pluralist society. A more useful concept for the present discussion is favourable cross-cultural attitudes (e.g., *sympathie*, acceptance, tolerance, respect for the right of others to be different, and empathy).

The rarity of specific studies of the effect of language learning on cross-cultural attitudes is matched by another incongruity. Although the development of favourable attitudes is one of the professed aims of many language syllabuses and school curricula [e.g., Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:1 and 1973a:Pars. I.3, I.4, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 5], it is rare that language curricula pay more than lip-service to them [cf. Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973]. The working-out of most programmes, however idealistic the stated goals, generally fails to incorporate adequate steps to achieve favourable attitudinal development [cf. Seelye 1974:ii] despite its importance even to communicative competence [cf. Tucker and Lambert 1972:26]. It certainly cannot be achieved in programmes that make no overt attempt to develop cross-cultural understanding apart from the listing of a few "interesting" and generally a-typical facts about the C_2. Nor can it be achieved through traditional "conversation" classes frequently characterized by a superficiality or a "jolliness" which, at best, trivialize the interaction process and, at worst, reinforce negative stereotypes [cf. Gardner and Lambert 1972:139].

Although all education affects student attitudes, directed attitudinal change is not easily achieved [cf. Gardner and Lambert 1972:55] especially since the home seems to be the most important agent for attitude transmission [cf. Milner 1975: 211]. However, there is evidence [e.g., pp. 448 - 452] that properly structured language teaching is likely to be significantly efficacious. It is particularly likely to be so as teaching strategies are evolved that elevate language learning beyond "maze learning" [Lambert 1969:298] to confront the learner with issues of cross-cultural attitudes and to involve him directly with people of other cultures. Clément et al. found, for example, that development of integrative motivation was the result of intergroup interaction rather than language learning *per se* [cf. Clément et al. 1977:12]. Milner [1975] describes powerful socialization processes that both overtly and covertly teach prejudice, militate against the efforts of the school [ibid.:31], and create attitudes that may be prejudicial even though not consciously held. In such circumstances, no attitudinal change can be expected unless the learner is confronted with and critically analyses his own attitudes, the nature of society and its injustices, and then comes to modify them [cf. pp. 502 -508; Freire 1970:38]. Lambert foresees bicultural bilinguals as working out "a new, nonethnocentric mode of social intercourse...of universal significance" [Lambert 1967:232-233].

GOAL : TO ACCEPT AND NOT JUST TO KNOW

Traditionally, when favourable cross-cultural attitudinal development has been envisaged as an objective, it has been sought through the "culture and civilisation" component [e.g., Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland 1973:1, 3]. However, knowing about a people is different from knowing and understanding them and knowledge of a culture is not enough to ensure the desired attitudinal goal [cf. Kleinjans 1972:16]. Savignon [1972:56, 58] found no evidence that systematic culture teaching affected ethnocentrism though language learning seemed to do so. Freire [1970:23-24, 40, 55] believes that humanizing education involves not the in-pouring of knowledge but the realization by the learners of the real nature of society, their rejection of the dehumanizing processes in it, and their acting to correct them, a transforming and humanizing process:

> *...because they impregnate the world with their reflective presence, only men can humanize or dehumanize. Humanization is their utopia, which they announce in denouncing dehumanizing processes.* [ibid.:55]

Where the dehumanizing processes involve the destruction of a person's or a group's individuality through the suppression of his language and culture by the dominant culture in a pluralist society, humanization involves one's accepting cultural and linguistic differences and actively trying to eradicate the social injustices [cf. Freire 1970a:20-21]. It involves not only being aware of differences but accepting and valuing them with one's own language and culture as expressions of universal humanity [cf. Adler 1974:30; Jarvis 1976:243-244]. At the same time, it involves recognizing the limitations and effects that cultural boundaries impose and the inappropriate affective and normative responses they lead one to make [cf. Trifonovitch 1973:38; Kleinjans 1972:10]. It involves perceiving, accepting, and valuing diversity within a human (and national and international) unity [cf. Milner 1975: 51-52].

Clearly, this implies that knowledge, though a factor in attitudinal development, is insufficient by itself but requires as well a significant affective element. Trifonovitch [1973:39] suggests that culture is best learned on the affective level and he places more emphasis on "feeling and doing" than on "intellectualizing". Freire [1970:21] says that "the process of men's orientation in the world" must unite subjectivity and objectivity since reality is not only concrete facts but also man's perception of them [ibid.:31]. Elsewhere, he says [1970a:27] that to deny subjectivity in transforming the world is to propound a world without men. Saint-Exupéry makes essentially the same point in *Le Petit Prince* in an equally perceptive, if less academic, statement:

> *Il est très simple : on ne voit bien qu'avec le coeur. L'essentiel est invisible pour les yeux.* [Saint-Exupéry 1958:72]

Thus, any discussion of basic human relationships (such as attitudes involve) which neglects the emotions or strives for total objectivity is necessarily inadequate in that it omits the very basis of relationships. In fact, Milner [1975:54-55] quotes several studies which show that knowledge is by no means an essential pre-requisite to the development of "emotional reactions to other nations" or cross-cultural attitudes and, as Kleinjans [1972:26] points out, hate and prejudice can exist despite knowledge. In a multicultural society, furthermore, any view which places knowledge or cognition as taxonomically pre-requisite to attitudes, as Kleinjans sometimes seems in danger of doing [e.g., Kleinjans 1972:19-20 but contrast 16, 18 and 26], poses an impossible task since the sheer diversity of cultures precludes all people from fully understanding all the other cultures. Rather, in a society such as Australia, what is important is that the individual learn to accept and tolerate even those cultural differences he does not understand.

Nevertheless, knowledge does have a role to play in attitudinal development in language learning courses. If one does not know anything of the culture of the other people, its constraints and presuppositions, then misunderstandings are more likely to arise and the 1975 UNESCO-FIPLV symposium called for migrant and recipient groups to be given detailed information about the other group in the interest of mutual understanding [Johansson 1975:6]. Fromm [1957: 31-32] suggests that "love" requires both knowledge and effort: one must know the other person and oneself objectively in order to see his essential reality and overcome one's own illusions but this knowledge is only one step towards love. The essence of a culture (or of a personality) is the set of beliefs, customs, and ways of looking at the world which determine how a person will act [cf. Kleinjans 1972:17; cf. Kelly's personal construct theory in Peck and Whitlow 1975:47]. If one knows what these are, it is more likely that others' behaviour and ideas will be understandable and it is less likely that one will respond to and judge them according to one's own, inappropriate criteria. At least, the learner is more likely to recognize that there are other ways than his own of organizing and judging the world and, provided his own personality and identity are secure, it is likely to make him more flexible, tolerant, broadminded, and appreciative of other values [cf. Johansson 1975:8, 9]. This suggests that language learning for attitudinal change ought to include some attempt to alter and diversify the learner's model of the world, a process which language learning desirably involves [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977: Chapter 2] but which the direct teaching of cultural knowledge may also promote. It underlines the inadequacy of the traditional approach to culture which teaches idiosyncratic and often superficial aspects of culture and makes piecemeal contrasts between the cultures. It also suggests the desirability of including activities involving the use of the L_2 in matters related to the C_1 culture so that the learner has the experience of integrating the L_2 with his C_1, of re-thinking his experience in terms of his L_2, and of seeing his own culture as if through the eyes of an L_2 speaker. The teaching of other, perhaps familiar, subjects in the L_2 and the various interdisciplinary subjects integrated with language study have valuable roles to play in this. If understanding a culture is the goal, then some knowledge of the history, ideas, beliefs, customs, and forms of expression that make up the culture can help to broadly re-structure the learner's model of the world and would seem advantageous [cf. Novak 1972:47-48] provided it does not lead to stereotyping and provided affective change also occurs.

Furthermore, we do not ourselves always view the world in the same way but are influenced by moods and activities. Unless the learner realizes this of himself and of others, he cannot understand or accept others as real human beings. Knowledge and acceptance of this human variability can only come as he experiences the reality of other people as he interacts with them in diverse situations [cf. Milner 1975:46]. Knowledge gained only through formal culture teaching is in danger of stereotyping and dehumanizing the other people [cf. Freire 1970a: 43] but knowledge gained through interaction, through acting to change society, and through re-assessing one's own values and one's own perception of the world (i.e., through praxis [ibid.:28]), will humanize oneself and others and favourably modify attitudes [cf. Freire 1970:34]. Knowledge has a role to play but in conjunction with affective change, as a part of the bipartite whole of objectivity and subjectivity [cf. Freire 1970:21; Kleinjans 1972:19-20; Fromm 1957:1, 31-32].

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE LEARNING IN DEVELOPING CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDES

There is some research evidence to show that language learning can change cross-cultural attitudes. Thus, Lambert and others [Lambert 1969:294] found that feelings of anomie increased markedly during an intensive French course and in another study Lambert [1969: 295] reports considerably more favourable attitudes towards both communities in bilingual compared with monolingual children [cf. also Lambert 1967:228; Lambert et al. 1968:476]. Elsewhere, he suggests [1967:230] [illegible] this is because the bilingual child learns that differences amongst national and cultural groups are not clear-cut and that the basic human similarities are more prominent. Lambert and Tucker [1972:177] concluded that "other culture sensitivity" had to be linked with the goal of bilingualism. Savignon [1972:18, 46, 58] found that learning a second language (by whatever methods) led to a significant decrease in ethnocentrism. In addition, she concluded [ibid.:18, 63] that, rather than integrative motivation determining success, success in language learning caused integrative motivation [cf. Gardner and Lambert 1972:78], a result that stresses the importance for attitudinal development of setting realistic goals that learners are able to achieve. Halsall [1968:43] links "the cultural openmindedness" of the Dutch with their need for and, hence, learning of languages.

Language learning promotes favourable attitude development by providing a means by which the learner can escape beyond the limitations of his own culture to experience at first hand what it is to belong to another culture, to see the world through other eyes, and to be a foreigner in that culture. It gives the opportunity to view the prejudices engrained in his own language and culture from a different vantage point letting him more rapidly perceive his own unconsciously socialized prejudices (as, for example, in the evaluative use of "black" and "white" [cf. Milner 1975:62-63, 67]). Steiner [in Salter 1975:23] describes the language learning experience as opening "a second window on the landscape of being". The learner is given the opportunity to see the other people as fellow human beings with the same array of needs and emotions transformed perhaps differently into expression. Halsall [1968:11-12] notes that language communication involves the exchanging of sociocultural meanings, a view which emphasizes the relation between language and society and leads to the assumption that effective language learning entails also cross-cultural understanding. In this, the sorts of methodological proposals made in Chapter Six are important since they move the learner into the other language and culture rather than stand him outside to detachedly examine it. They require that he make contact with and interact with the speakers of the language and help to break down the barriers around his understanding [cf. Penfield 1953:209]. Rivers has well expressed this role for language teaching:

> *As students act out the role of the foreigner, trying to use his language as he would use it and see things as he would see them, reading what he would read, they are able to identify*

> *with him in a way which is not possible in a course in social studies or comparative literature in translation. This experience opens the door to a deeper understanding of another culture and a wider tolerance of different ideas and patterns of behaviour.* [Rivers 1968:26]

Nevertheless, the research evidence is not clear-cut. Burstall's study of Primary French in Britain did not find that language learning *per se* promoted positive attitudes though interaction probably did [Burstall 1974:235]. Similarly, Gardner and Lambert [1972:103, 140] found that American students of French had generally negative stereotypes of French people. One is left wondering to what extent the teaching methods had contributed to these by, for instance, trivializing the French and French culture or by not structuring for interaction with native speakers (though in some cases this interaction did occur since the students were French-American). Seelye [1974:18] is also sceptical and suggests that, in addition to learning the language, the "cultural referents" by which the people order their lives must be learned so as to develop sensitivity to other cultures.

Clearly, there is no inevitable relationship between language learning and favourable cross-cultural attitudes. If the latter are to be achieved, they must be envisaged as conscious objectives and strategies to attain them must be incorporated in the teaching methods. In particular, these must confront the learner with issues relevant to cross-cultural understanding, encourage interaction with native speakers, and develop realization of the restrictiveness and undesirability of monolingualism and monoculturalism. Finally, Alatis's [1975] comment seems likely: language learning does not automatically bring understanding but, given good will, it makes understanding more likely; given indifference, it makes good will more likely to arise.

MOTIVATION

Motivation has been intensively examined, especially in North America, and a number of studies have been referred to above [pp. 439-442]. The present discussion will not reiterate the debate between integrative and instrumental motivation except to note that the only conclusion one can draw is that motivation strongly influences the outcome of language learning [cf. James and Rouve 1973:147; Hill 1971:66; Savignon 1972:18, 61; Carroll 1963: 1089]. The two forms are, in fact, inextricably intertwined [cf. Bennett 1974:46 and, for the child L_1-learner, Halliday 1974:16; but contrast Clément et al. 1977:12] and both influence the learner and his learning though in different ways according to the individual and his social context [cf. Gardner and Santos 1970; Gardner and Lambert 1972:130; Ingram 1974:80-81]. Here, the discussion will orientate solely around the interplay between motivation, language learning, the multicultural society, and the creation of favourable cross-cultural attitudes.

It is important for the development of both attitudes and motivation that learners be led to see monolingualism, monoculturalism and ethnocentrism as undesirable and to be issues of importance to them. This entails leading them to see the real nature of their local and world society, the importance of attitudes to social harmony and to society's development, and the part they can play in determining the nature of the society. This leads directly to Freire's notion of conscientization [see pp. 501-517] with its double effect on motivation to learn and on attitudes to others. If this dynamic view of language learning is developed, motivation is assured and, if Carroll is right [1963:1089-1090], will positively affect achievement. He, like Savignon [1972:18, 61], doubts the influence of motivation on language learning achievement except insofar as it forestalls boredom and encourages learners to persevere in situations where they are free to lag in attention. Where the learner is engaged in a dynamic approach to language learning in which he sees himself actively using the language while actively engaged in social change [see pp. 508-517], motivation will be assured. The difference between this type of language learning and that of the traditional classroom is comparable to Freire's difference between action and work:

> *Action is [i.e., becomes] work not because of the greater or lesser physical effort expended in it by the acting organism, but because of the consciousness the subject has of his own effort, the possibility of programming action, of creating tools and using them to mediate between himself and the object of his action, of having purposes, of anticipating results. Still more, for action to become work, it must result in significant products, which while distinct from the active agent, at the same time condition him and become the object of his reflection. As men act upon the world effectively, transforming it by their work, their consciousness is in turn historically and culturally conditioned through the 'inversion of praxis'.* [Freire 1970:56-57]

CULTURE LEARNING

Earlier, reference was made to the role of knowledge in developing favourable cross-cultural attitudes, especially knowledge of the culture of the other group. Culture teaching of some sort has traditionally occupied a large part of language teaching and has been considered the part most pertinent to attitudinal development. However, its contribution to cross-cultural attitudes warrants somewhat fuller consideration.

CONCEPTS OF CULTURE

Halliday has defined "culture" as "a system of meanings, a semiotic system" [Halliday 1975:66]; it is the fundamental set of meanings, of observations on reality, and of observed relationships which constitute the accumulated knowledge of society and which provide the select meaning of any situation or event. The child learns this more or less adequately as he develops in a society and especially as he acquires the language. He is learning, in Keesing's words [1974:79, 80], a system of shared symbols and meanings. Thus, as he acquires the language, the child constructs a semantic system derived from the social semiotic system and this is "the primary mode of transmission of the culture" [Halliday 1975:66]. In this view, language and culture are clearly inextricably interwoven and "culture" is both the essence of the way of life, beliefs and knowledge of a people and embraces all the traditional subject disciplines [cf. Keesing 1974:77]. It is both general and individual since it transcends individual persons but is lived out by individuals within social groups [cf. Kleinjans 1972:5; Keesing 1974:84, 91; Goodenough 1963:263]. It is essential, in fact, that the individuality be perceived by the learner so that stereotyping is avoided. In Seelye's words, culture includes "everything people learn to do... a very broad concept embracing all aspects of the life of man" [Seelye 1974:10-11; cf. Walsh 1975:8; Walker 1973:104]. It is clearly diverse but patterns emerge [Benedict 1935] or, as Kleinjans observes [1972:5], it is a structured system consisting of elements which interrelate and influence each other. The structured, systematic nature of culture and its integration with language is clearly demonstrated by Pike [1971].

Culture in this broad sense poses great teaching problems in its sheer magnitude and diversity and, as Walsh observes [1975:8], many theoretical and practical teaching problems remain to be worked out. However, it is a vital part of language learning and, if communication involves the exchange of meanings, successful language learning can occur only in conjunction with culture learning; if favourable cross-cultural attitudes involve cross-cultural understanding, then the development of such attitudes entails, in part at least, some culture learning.

The traditional view of culture learning as the study of only fine literature is clearly too narrow. It ignores the diversity of the beliefs, habits, mannerisms, behaviours, and knowledge of the people and is even rejected by students, who desire more diverse courses (both interdisciplinary and oriented towards practical use in everyday life [cf. Chapter Three, pp. 266-270; Savignon 1972:39; Walker 1973: 104]). The traditional view also contains a serious inadequacy: it confuses contemporary everyday life with what Beaujour and Ehrmann [1967:153] term "noble civilisation", i.e., the culture and (imagined) way of life of an often unreal classical world of the literature of earlier centuries. In addition, literature does not so much portray the general culture of a people as grow out of it; it makes its effect by discussing the abnormal rather than the normal, the Macbeths rather than the Smiths, the Don Rodrigues rather than the Gibards, and thus does not teach culture but assumes the reader's cultural knowledge in order to develop a theme and create effects. It necessarily in some sense caricatures real life even though it is in order to make the reader understand more subtly what it is to be human in this world. However, since it is a caricature, if it is the learner's only experience of the society, he is likely to misunderstand and mis-value it; he is unlikely to gain a real picture of the C_2 and its people. Furthermore, since literature grows out of and presupposes the general culture, it can only be properly understood if the reader already understands the general culture. Strevens's comments on the language of literature are no less applicable to culture:

> *...precisely because it is subtle and creative and special, the language of literary works is different from, and cannot be used for teaching, everyday discourse...because literary works exploit vastly more of the total possible range of linguistic devices, more acquaintance with these devices is needed before the impact of literature can be appreciated.* [Strevens 1968: 217-218]

THE RELATION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

We have already seen that, if language is viewed as a worthwhile, practical tool of communication, it is not possible to separate culture learning from language learning. In Chapter Four [pp. 366 -377], we saw the essential relationship that exists between language and its social and physical context. Marckwardt stresses that language learning is more than learning to manipulate structures and vocabulary since these exert some control over culture and, according to Whorf [1956], over thought processes. Marckwardt [1964:5-6] illustrates this with enculturated discourse sequences [cf. Kaplan 1966, 1972]. The notion of connotative meanings emphasizes that the semantic content includes aspects of meaning gained from experience within a certain social and environmental context [cf. Halsall 1968:12-13]. Language learning is learning how to mean but it takes place in a social environment and not in isolation [cf. Halliday 1975:65]. Language for the adult is not necessarily context-dependent but it does occur in interaction with the social system [cf. ibid.:78, 125]; the act of meaning is always a social act [ibid.:139-140] and hence a culturally determined act. Halliday takes the integration of language and culture still further by describing culture as "a semiotic system, a system of meanings or information that is encoded in the behaviour potential of the members" and includes, is realized in, and is transmitted from person to person and generation to generation through, the language [cf. Halliday 1974:4; 1975:36, 121]. It is language which turns the human organism into a social being [Halliday 1974:7]. Thus, language and the culture or social context are closely integrated and interdependent, each reflects the structure of the other, and one cannot be learned without the other [cf. ibid.:120, 131-132]. Brown's [1965:247] description of the relationship between language and culture is similar. He sees the "non-linguistic concepts" as governing the language; language learning is more than acquisition of a motor skill; it is cognitive socialization and, hence, entails "taking on" a culture.

Clearly, a language cannot be learned as a language (in contrast to a system of verbal algebra) unless it is learned in integration with the culture[1]. Conversely, the culture cannot be adequately learned unless integrated with its major component part, transmitter and structural determinant, viz., language. Furthermore, using a language for communication implies interacting with speakers of the language and if the learner is to do so with confidence, he must be able to conform to the behavioural expectations of the other culture at least to the extent that he does not jar unduly those with whom he wishes to communicate [cf. Rivers 1975b:3]. He must know the conventions of interaction just as he must know what it is culturally appropriate to communicate about and what the meanings are that he is exchanging and assuming. Only then can the L_2, like his L_1, be a real language, viz., a tool by which he can make the society work for himself [cf. Le Page 1975:140]. Savignon [1972:

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(1) One can distinguish "conventional" and "scientific" knowledge, the former incorporating culturally bound notions of phenomenological reality, the latter more "universal" notions of physical reality (such as $E=mc^2$). The latter, being "universal", are free of the constraints of particular languages but discussion of them necessarily attaches to them culturally defined values from the language. Though mathematicians and physicists might prefer to talk in numbers, they also talk in language and, hence, the universal conceptualizations probably become a little less universal and become a part of the M.O.W. integrated with the language. In teaching languages for "special purposes" or "science and technology", the culture content may appear less crucial but using language to refer to, describe or define scientific terms implies being able to associate L_2 terms with conceptualizations which exist in the L_2 phenomenology (or M.O.W.) and which may also, because they are universal, belong to the L_1 phenomenology.

55-56], for instance, found that, though linguistic competence was not affected by culture learning, communicative competence was. Beanblossom [1970] found no correlation between social studies and French attainment and Harding [1975] found little between knowledge of French culture and civilisation and success in French. However, both studies used traditional test approaches emphasizing linguistic rather than communicative competence. Halsall's emphasis [1968:12-13] on the culturally governed connotative meanings of words underlines the need to see the language learning task as extending beyond the learning of words and structures. If language and thinking are related, then the learning of culture (i.e., the ways of thinking, believing, feeling and acting of a people [cf. Kleinjans 1972:16]) is an essential part of language learning. Thus, it is necessary to see and teach language in its total cultural context [cf. Saville-Troike 1974:1].

SENSITIVITY AND UNIVERSALITY IN DIVERSITY

Although culture learning is important in the development of communicative competence, culture teaching must also aim at effecting desirable attitude change. Of itself, culture learning does not seem to decrease ethnocentrism [Savignon 1972:18]; yet cross-cultural understanding necessarily entails some knowledge of the other culture [cf. Seelye 1974: 12]. If ethnocentrism is to be avoided, one has to learn to recognize and re-assess the normative responses one's own culture imposes: thorough culture learning can realize this experience [cf. Kleinjans

1972:8]. In particular, it must be structured to lead to an appreciation of the other people, not as stereotypes or virtual museum specimens, but as recognizable human beings with fundamentally the same potentialities, needs, and emotions that are, nevertheless, expressed in different ways. That is, the learner must come to appreciate cultural diversity at the same time as he perceives universal humanity [cf. Tucker and Lambert 1972:29].

The notion of diverse expression of an underlying common humanity is the cultural parallel of linguistic surface and deep structures. Freire [1970:31-34] used the same analogy in discussing the adult literacy process in the context of learner-educator dialogue and the learner's social reality [cf. also Kleinjans 1972:12-13 and Keesing 1974:88-89]. Culture learning and cross-cultural understanding are closely parallel, in this view, to Freire's discussion of comprehension:

> *...decodification...is the operation by which the knowing subjects perceive relationships between the codification's elements and other facts presented by the real context-relationships which were formerly unperceived... The learners rather than receive information about this or that fact, analyse aspects of their own existential experience represented in the codification.*
> [Freire 1970:33]

Freire's explanation also reveals how study of one culture, considered as another expression of a universal humanity, may affect cross-cultural attitudes in general. He goes on:

> *Existential experience is a whole. In illuminating one of its angles and perceiving the interrelation between that angle and others, the learners tend to replace a fragmented vision of reality with a total vision... [It] involves the learners in a constant reconstruction of their former..[model] of reality.* [ibid.:33-34]

An approach to culture teaching which starts with this view of cultural diversity will introduce the differing cultural characteristics to the learner but also elucidate them as expressions of fundamental and universal humanity. In looking at behaviours or other expressions of the target culture, the learner must, as Seelye suggests [1974:26], ask what universal need the individual is trying to satisfy. On the other hand, approaches which emphasize cultural contrasts, especially isolated cultural facts, trivia and idiosyncracies, are more likely to foster stereotyping and ethnocentrism [cf. Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Lambert 1967:230]. In addition, a contrastive approach emphasizes the separateness of people of different cultures and leads to the dichotomized and exclusivist view of integrative motivation and of the nature of cross-cultural attitudes that was questioned earlier [pp. 339-442]. It leads to the notion of in-groups and out-groups [cf. Lambert 1967:229] with the corollary that favourable cross-cultural attitudes and integrative motivation entail desire to identify with the other group and surrender one's former cultural allegiances. A more appropriate notion in the multicultural society is that of retaining one's identity but broadening and making more flexible one's construction of reality and one's ability to accommodate others' differences and to place them within a coherent construct of what it is to be human. Thus, cross-cultural experience leads, in this way, to the development of accommodating and favourable cross-cultural attitudes in general which precede rather than depend upon cultural knowledge which, however, they are ready to accommodate. This implies that the learner develops a sensitivity to cultural difference but retains a personal security of identity that permits him to be responsive and accommodating without being timid or vacillating [cf. Kleinjans 1972:18]. Adler describes the sort of person who might result:

> *Multicultural man is the person who is intellectually and emotionally committed to the fundamental unity of all human beings while at the same time he recognizes, legitimizes, accepts, and appreciates the fundamental differences that lie between people of different cultures...multicultural man is recognized by the configuration of his outlooks and world view, by the way he incorporates the universe as a dynamically moving process, by the way he reflects the interconnectedness of life in his thoughts and his actions, and by the way he remains open to the imminence of experience.* [Adler 1974:24]

Experience in this context implies interaction with other cultural communities.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INTERACTION

We saw in Chapter Four that interaction involving active language use was of central importance in developing language proficiency. Interaction with native speakers is equally important in developing favourable and balanced cross-cultural attitudes.

The emphasis in the preceding section was on learning to see the people of the other culture as ordinary people instead of as stereotypes or caricatures. In particular, if we are to see people not "as mere quanta of humanity" [Halliday 1974:3] but as individuals like ourselves with whom we can have personal dealings, we must meet them as equal, fellow beings. It would seem likely that the best way to gain such an appreciation and decrease ethnocentrism (whether manifested in negative or exaggeratedly positive prejudice) would be to have contact with them in the same way that the learner has contact with people of his own culture. However, some seemingly contrary evidence needs to be examined first.

Lambert [1969:293], in a study in French Canada, found that students' attitudes were more influenced by their parents' attitudes than by the number of French friends the parents had. Although Milner's discussion [1975] also emphasizes the effect of parental attitudes on children, one cannot conclude that interaction is of no importance since the number of friends need not correlate with amount of rewarding interaction and Milner [1975:88] refers to studies that show inter-group contact to be important in promoting favourable attitudes.

Furthermore, it is probably inevitable in any cross-cultural experience that some culture shock should initially occur. This perhaps accounts for the "sharp drop in integrative motivation" that the "communicative skills" group in Savignon's study experienced [1972:60]. Here, though, the emphasis was not so much on interaction (though it did occur [ibid.:29]), as on practising communicative acts with particular attention to the kinesic features of communication, i.e., learning to act like Frenchmen [cf. ibid.:20]. In other words, the emphasis was not so much on learning to recognize and accept other-culture characteristics as on making them one's own. In addition, the apparently less favourable attitudes that emerged are probably attributable either to a lack of confidence by the students in their new roles [cf. ibid.:60] or to a more realistic view of the other people, i.e., the initial effect of the course was to diminish the superficial idealization and (positive) stereotyping of the other culture that result from many traditional culture courses and are no less unrealistic than prejudice. Once the initial "culture shock" of interaction and trying to perceive and act like the other group has passed, one would expect, if the viewpoint being discussed in this chapter is accurate, that more favourable attitudes would again emerge. This is what did happen [ibid.:60] though Savignon's study does not reveal the nature of the new attitudes. It is of interest to note that Savignon's second experimental group, which had many interactive experiences during their culture learning programme [e.g., ibid.:16], showed a continuous improvement in cross-cultural attitudes throughout the study [ibid.:60].

It will also be seen later that some form of culture shock is an essential part of attitude change. Schumann has defined culture shock as "anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture" [Schumann 1975:12]. It occurs because a person entering a new culture brings with him certain expectations (including role-expectations), pre-suppositions, ways of viewing the world, and problem-solving techniques but he finds that they do not "fit" in the new culture and this brings anxiety, fear and often a rejection of the other cultures as irrational or inferior [cf. ibid.:12; Landar 1966:6; Goodenough 1963:273]. The development of favourable and accepting attitudes necessitates that the individual be aware of these often unconscious factors that determine his attitudes. This can come probably only as a result of a crisis or confrontation situation and thus it is not surprising that, following interaction, attitudes might seem to become less favourable. Their subsequent favourable development is likely to be more soundly based, balanced, and enduring than the attitudes of persons whose deep-set values, pre-suppositions, or prejudices have not been challenged [cf. Peck and Whitlow 1975:45]. In addition, when they consciously realize the deep-seated factors that determine attitudinal responses in any situation, people are more likely to be sensitive to and able to anticipate and avoid inter-cultural misunderstandings [cf. Seelye 1974:84].

Expressed differently, the learner needs to realize the largely indifferent, neutral and fortuitous nature of his own culture and value systems, the consequent inappropriateness of cross-cultural value judgements, and the biasses that his own system imposes on him as he looks outside at other systems. This can come as the learner is transferred into another system, as using an L_2 in interaction can achieve. However, the resultant confrontation with the deep-seated determinants of his values and behaviour will be successfully negotiated only if the interaction goes on long enough for its effect to do more than make the suppressed prejudices overt and articulate [consider Schools Council 1972:10 and Savignon 1972:60]. What seems to be required is a thorough confrontation of the issues of race or cross-cultural relations plus significant experience of interacting in another culture. Freire also considers these two ways of understanding (essentially, conscious knowledge and experience or praxis) but stresses their close interweaving and the importance of their coming together at some point:

> *We do not mean to suggest that critical knowledge of man-world relationships arises as a verbal knowledge outside of praxis... The relationship between the* theoretical context, *in which codified representations of objective facts are analysed, and the* concrete context, *where these facts occur, has to be made real.* [Freire 1970:36]

Elsewhere, Freire says that the individual must confront reality critically, simultaneously objectifying it and acting upon it [Freire 1970a:28].

If it is the case that highly favourable attitudes determine success of language learning [cf. Gardner and Lambert 1972; Lambert 1967, 1969], it is interesting (though by no means conclusive) to note Carroll's [1967] finding that what was important in determining proficiency levels was not period of stay abroad but simply having been abroad. That is, perhaps, amount of practice was less important than that interaction had occurred [cf. Savignon 1972:13]. Similar but slightly more persuasive evidence of the effect of interaction on cross-cultural attitudes (and attitudes to the language) are found in Burstall's own and reported studies [Burstall 1974: 235-236]. Here, more favourable attitudes were found amongst those students of French who had been to France and Burstall [loc. cit.] suggests that "empathic capacity" develops most rapidly as a result of direct contact with the foreign culture and people while using the language. Studies by Clément et al. [1977] led them to the conclusion that, to the extent that interaction is positive and rewarding, it increases the learner's self-confidence in his L_2 proficiency and this leads to positive attitudes towards the L_2 group. They go on to conclude that the "Integrative Motive" is related more directly to intergroup interaction than to L_2 achievement [ibid.:12].

Nevertheless, intuitively and from introspection, it would seem that fear of being unable to communicate adequately or without errors may make the learner nervous about becoming involved with L_2 speakers and this may generalize to a rejection of them. Classroom "communication" practice (unless incorporated into a *section bilingue* or other interdisciplinary approaches) is insufficiently important, i.e., there is too little dependent on it, to prove to the learner that he can communicate. In social interaction, the very existence of the individual as a social being is at stake and success in those circumstances proves communicative ability and identifies the learner as a bi-(or multi-) lingual being able to reach out into another society and establish himself in it [cf. Savignon 1972:3]. He is then more likely to attempt to do so and to be favourably disposed to the people he reaches out to. Thus, experiences that show the learner that he can, after all, communicate with L_2 speakers will themselves be agreeable and this is also likely to generalize to a more favourable attitude to native speakers at the same time as promoting and encouraging communicative competence. Thus, Burstall [1974:236] found that those who had been to France not only had better attitudes but preferred oral aspects of learning French. Possibly, those who went to France did so because of their better attitudes rather than the better attitudes resulting from interaction, but Burstall concludes:

> *'Empathic capacity' was held to include the ability to understand other people's feelings, to appreciate the details of their behaviour and to respond appropriately. It is possible that this is a capacity which develops more rapidly when pupils are brought into direct contact with a foreign culture than when they are attempting to learn a foreign language in a monocultural setting.* [Burstall 1974:236]

This definition of "empathic capacity" underlines the fact that much prejudice is the result of ignorance or stereotyping and personal interaction seems likely to reduce both these factors. It places the learner within the other culture; for members of the majority culture in a multicultural society, it lets them, as they enter another culture, experience what it is to be in a minority, to fail to fully conform with a majority able to accept or reject, perhaps to be rejected but, in any case, to experience and better understand the social pressures on the members of the other community. Hence the UNESCO-FIPLV symposium on migration and language learning stressed that interaction was essential [Johansson 1975:3] and Erikson stated that whatever men want to learn about their community and its people they must "learn together", i.e., by interacting [Erikson 1968a:17-18]. Milner [1975:88] argues with supporting research that "inter-racial contact" is the most important factor (ahead of intelligence) leading to tolerance but notes that it must be contact in equal-status situations. Halsall's view [1968:40, 43] is that the first pre-requisite to cultural open-mindedness is to learn that "linguistic insularity" is "inappropriate" and the best way to achieve that realization is by frequent interaction with speakers of other languages. Such situations, to be motivating and rewarding, should be socially agreeable, permit the development of friendships (e.g., in *soirées*), and provide intellectual stimulus (as in visits to industry, schools, and commerce, in films, music, etc.) so as to avoid emotional satiation from too much superficial jollity.

Knowledge about another culture is not enough [cf. pp. 443-445]. It is too easy for factual knowledge, whether about racism and equality or about another culture or people, to become distorted especially when they are seen through and require a change in an existing cognitive structure [cf. Bochner 1975:

4]. It is not enough to stand off and observe facts, differences, or traits. If real understanding is to be achieved, the learner must have the experience of crossing cultural boundaries, of entering another culture, and of starting to experience the world in another way. This requires that he use the other language for interaction within the other culture or ethnic community. Furthermore, knowledge about a culture unaccompanied by a significant affective response is little more than partial or pseudo-understanding [cf. Freire 1970:21; Fromm 1957:1, 31-32; Trifonovitch 1973:39]. Without genuine affective change, the other people or community are either objectified as if they are glass-encased objects for scientific study or they become equally unreal subjects of the superficial admiration of many language classes. Affective change towards normality and balance in which the other people are viewed with the same naturalness, acceptance and tolerance as one's cultural fellows can only come as they are experienced as one's fellows are experienced. This again leads to interaction in everyday situations and a "community involvement" approach to language learning in the multicultural society. In this way, instead of learning *about* a people and their culture, the learner becomes acquainted with individuals and starts to "créer des liens" [Saint-Exupéry 1958:68].

The very nature of what it is to be a person of another culture explains why knowledge is insufficient to ensure cross-cultural understanding. One's way-of-life, ideas, expectations, and perception of the world are continually influenced by one's total experience, by all those impinging aspects of one's culture, and by one's reflection upon them [cf. Freire 1970:53]. It is impossible in the time available in any class to cover all aspects of a culture. Even if it were possible, formal discussion necessarily isolates one area or one characteristic at any one time. Thus, traditionally, teachers of culture have, at best, chosen one path, e.g., classical literature or folklore [Seelye 1974:18], by which to gain access to a culture. However useful such an approach may be in providing information, it necessarily exaggerates the salience of the characteristic under discussion and may over-generalize its applicability. Hence, it may produce further stereotyping especially since it tends to down-play the individual selection amongst the culture's characteristics and options that produces individuality within a community. The only way that this can be overcome and a balanced perception gained is by the learner's experiencing the total culture, experiencing as far as possible all those cultural factors that impinge on a person in that culture. The beginner with little cultural or linguistic knowledge is in danger of "drowning" but, for the advanced learner, it provides the best chance of achieving balance in his understanding of the other culture and in his attitudes to the other community. In addition, the sheer size and complexity of what is to be absorbed precludes the learner with limited experience from fully acquiring the L_2 model of the world but it is the resultant differing expectations that lead to conflict and misunderstanding. The need, then, is for each person to become accustomed to such differences, to tolerate them, and to learn to handle situations in which they occur. This can come only from experience of such situations.

Within his own identity group, each person recognizes, tolerates, and often applauds differences (e.g., hair colour and style or clothing) and, from this standpoint, the development of favourable cross-cultural or racial attitudes involves extending the individual's willingness to accept differences without imposing his own culture's values and behavioural expectations [cf. Goodenough 1963:106]; it involves extending the individual's parameters of judgement, extending the group with which he identifies. As Halliday notes [1974:9-10], it is "critically", if not "wholly", through language that he achieves this. The "human being" becomes one of a group of "people" with a certain personality and status largely through "linguistic interchange" with the group. Thus, interaction in the L_2 with other people can help him to extend and change the parameters of his identity system to include people of other cultures and to open his identity system formerly closed around unicultural parameters to allow him to tolerate other-culture differences. It enables him within this larger (and ever-increasing) group to establish his own social role [cf. ibid.: 10, 13] and his larger group identity. Freire [1970a:135] suggests that the individual finds his identity in contrast with others but that the two ("I" and "thou") must come together in order to transform the world [see also Buber 1961:Chapter II]. His dialogical theory of action excludes the possibility of a subject and a dominated object [cf. Milner 1975:88] but stresses a co-operation which can come only through communication or interaction [cf. Freire 1970a:135-136]. If this is considered in terms of social change in the multicultural society, then "communion with the L_2 people" is seen to be essential and "conscientization" occurs as people reflect and act together to achieve maximum understanding of reality, their relationships to it, and the actions needed to improve it [cf. Freire 1970: 75]. Interaction in the course of language learning is, clearly, a desirable means to cross-cultural understanding and balanced attitudinal development. For language learners in a multicultural society, it takes the form of involvement in the community.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The term "community involvement" is ambiguous [see Chapter Six, pp. 577 -578] but, here, "community involvement" refers to an approach to L_2 teaching which builds in interaction by the learner with native speakers in the "ethnic community" as an integral part of language teaching. This relates the language learning task immediately to the learner's own environment, it provides the language with immediate relevance to the learner and his society, and it brings the same benefits as overseas travel [e.g., Carroll 1967; Burstall 1974] but more cheaply and readily. If spending time in the C_2 is "the single most influential activity a student can do to affect his attitude" [Seelye 1974:46], then, in meeting the attitudinal needs of the multicultural society, it is important to capitalize on the C_2 surrogate (or, more accurately, its extension) in the local community. Furthermore, Burstall's study [1974: 244-245] showed that, even for children, the prospect of contact with native speakers was the most powerful learning incentive but real communication situations in the schools are rare and when the learner believes he is unlikely ever to talk with native speakers he condemns language learning as "a waste of time", an attitude that almost certainly generalizes to rejection of the other-culture group. Community involvement also provides the learner with direct, personal experience of the L_2 culture throughout his language learning experience, it develops his understanding of the other culture, and it relates all of this to his own national community. In addition, by providing motivating situations for use of the L_2, it responds to those language learning needs identified in Chapter Four and, in particular, promotes the attainment of practical proficiency. Instead of role play, simulation games, and the pseudo-communication of the classroom, community involvement provides real communication with the inherent advantages for attitude change brought by interaction [cf. pp. 464 -475].

It may be objected that, in Australia, for example, a true French, Greek or German community does not exist but only one significantly coloured by the Australian context. However, it is exactly that community which is most immediately relevant to the learner. If it differs from, for instance, Metropolitan France, its cultural distance from Australian society (and the learner) is less, it is, therefore, more accessible to the learner, and, in any case, its practical advantages in being 10,000 miles closer far outweigh any (not admitted) disadvantages in using it. Furthermore, one of the cognitive needs identified in Chapter Four [pp. 426 - 431] was the need for the learner to re-think his model of the world in terms of the L_2. A French speaker undoubtedly could discuss in French the events, environment, and way-of-life in Australia and interaction with the Australian French community offers the learner the opportunity to discuss and re-think his world in French. It makes the language more directly relevant to him, it makes identification with the other people more probable (i.e., it encourages him to extend the parameters of his group identification as discussed earlier [pp.464 -475]), and thus it promotes the attainment of favourable cross-cultural attitudes. The step from here to attitudes to people outside his own national boundaries is smaller especially if the learner's attitudes have already been generalized beyond the French to other ethnic groups. Van Passel has expressed what could well be one goal of classroom practice oriented towards such interaction:

> *Les objectifs fixés pour ce niveau prévoient expressément que l'élève doit «se sentir à l'aise» au sein de la communauté linguistique dont il apprend la langue. Cela implique, outre les activités proprement linguistiques, une connaissance, voire une compréhension des problèmes qui préoccupent les gens de cette autre communauté, c'est-à-dire de leurs intérêts culturels, politiques et scientifiques.*
> [Van Passel 1974:85]

Unfortunately, Van Passel translates this into rather mundane, classroom-bound activities which, he says, will establish "les liens affectifs avec les locuteurs étrangers" [ibid.:86]. Thus, he again confuses *knowledge about* with attitude change. Rather, especially in the multicultural society, "compréhension des problèmes" must entail both knowledge and feeling, both objectivity and subjectivity [cf. pp. 443 -445; Freire 1970:21]. It requires what Freire terms "solidarity" with the minority group especially in its aspirations for the rights of language and culture and this requires that "one enter into the situation of those with whom one is identifying" [Freire 1970a:26]. Only in this way, through interaction or involvement in the local L_2 community, can true understanding and thorough attitude change take place. In this way, the learner ceases to view the other people as an "abstract category" and sees them as individuals with the same basic rights and needs as his (even though, perhaps, expressed differently). The act of moving out into the other community, of taking the risk of "an act of love" [ibid.:26; cf. Fromm 1957:Chapter 1], is essential if genuine attitude change which excises unconscious or suppressed prejudices is to occur. In Freire's words,

> *True solidarity is found only in the plentitude of this act of love, in its existentiality, in its praxis.* [Freire 1970a:26]

This leads logically to community involvement entailing social interaction with, and work with, the ethnic community as a central process in language learning for attitude change in the multicultural society.

In addition, the learner must be led to reflect upon the nature of his society in the course of actively living within its pluralism (and not just living within one ethnic group while shutting out the others). Freire describes the person who attains his full potential in terms which are clearly relevant to the person living intelligently and sensitively in the multicultural society:

> *Whereas the being which merely lives is not capable of reflecting upon itself and knowing itself living in the world, the existent subject reflects upon his life within the very domain of existence, and questions his relationship with the world...*
>
> *...Their reflectiveness results not just in a vague and uncommitted awareness, but in the exercise of a profoundly transforming action upon the determining reality.* [Freire 1970:52]

In a multicultural society where overt oppression by force of arms may not exist, the "determining reality" may be just as powerful but assume the form of inter-racial or inter-cultural prejudice, an inappropriate education system, or refusal of the rights of language and culture. The twin needs for the development of attitudes appropriate to the multicultural society remain, viz., reflection upon the nature of that society and involvement with the other culture group. This gives, in Freire's terms, both conscientization and praxis and emphasizes again the vital role of "community involvement" in language learning in the multicultural society.

EFFECT OF INTERACTION IN COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT ON LANGUAGE LEARNING

In Chapter Four we saw the importance of contextualizing the language and of placing the learner in situations where he is motivated to use the language for worthwhile communication purposes [cf. Saville-Troike 1974:1]. Methods which encourage interaction through community involvement clearly cater for these learning needs and go some of the way to moving L_2 learning from its peripheral position [cf. Strevens 1975] to one of central importance in his activities and social consciousness in the multicultural society.

A community involvement approach to language teaching contextualizes the language in society, its culture and the environment. In terms of the perceived nature of the language, it ensures that the language is seen operating in real life in the same way as the L_1 with functional power to achieve goals of importance to the learner. It ensures that, for the learner, the production and comprehension of the language is supported and promoted by a real social, environmental, cultural and linguistic context [cf. Chapter Four; De Villiers and De Villiers 1974; Clark et al. 1974; Holland 1970a:2]. It ensures that the L_2 becomes more than the symbols in a laborious algebraic game as it often is in traditional classroom-bound teaching. The beneficial effects are partially reflected in the benefits experienced by schools with *assistants* or which encourage overseas visits [cf. Chapter Three, pp. 240-244].

A language that operates realistically is varied according to different purposes and different receivers;

the successful learner must learn to vary his language in this way and to comprehend different speakers [cf. Slama-Cazacu 1975]; community involvement provides relevant experience. Community involvement also gives the learner freedom to pursue his own interests and to develop his language to meet the resultant needs; it makes him responsible for selecting within his language repertoire and by-passing and following-up any lacunae in his knowledge; it lets his language learning and use respond to his needs and level of development; in short, it focusses learning activities on the learner himself, an important principle of language learning [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 313-347]. It is important in terms of attitude development in that it leaves the learner free to adapt himself, his ideas and his language to promote friendship or harmonious relations with the people he meets from the other culture, i.e., it teaches him to modify the parameters of his identity system to enable him to extend the group with which he identifies as is required to meet the needs of the multicultural society [cf. Capelle 1973:8; Le Page 1975: 137]. It also lets the learner experience the importance of the "ritual function" of language [Halliday 1969], which is essential if he is to correctly establish the desired relations with native speakers [cf. Rivers 1975b:3]. Thus, community involvement ensures that the learner experiences a range of speakers with whom to interact, with whom to modify his language, and in interaction with whom he can largely pursue his own interests and needs.

In addition, the very meaning of language is what it can be used for and the meaning of one form or variation exists in contrast to the other possibilities [cf. Chapter Four, pp.377 -383]. Community involvement which gives the learner experience in using the language to make appointments, to elicit information, to develop friendships, and in other activities important to his daily life and psychological development ensures that the language acquires the matrix of meaning that any viable, natural language must have [cf. Halliday 1975:11; Ingram 1974: 76-77]. Savignon [1972:31, 32, 56] also showed that placing language in its cultural context (even if a surrogate context) and using it for communication led to significant increases in cross-cultural understanding, to sensitivity to its contextual appropriateness, and to increased communicative competence. Since language is a "social instrument", it cannot be divorced from the society it serves and comprehension of the language necessitates understanding the mores of its societal basis [cf. Halliday 1975:78, 128; Seelye 1974:13, 21; Halsall 1968:12-13]. The freedom to raise topics for discussion, to find one's own ideas in the course of interaction with others in the multicultural society, and to select from a variety of possible responses and so elucidate one's own relationship to the society both "conscientizes" the learner and gives a power to his language that the controlled practice of the classroom lacks [cf. Freire 1970:52, 53].

One marked effect on communicative competence arises from the fact that this approach provides the learner with something to talk about. Lack of motivating topics often seems to inhibit the learner's language use and also, as Tarone notes [1976:91], the L_2 learner's language is sensitive to social situation. This was strikingly exemplified in a teaching project based on ideas in this thesis. During reports on interviews she had had with interesting and friendly people in the French community, one of the weakest students performed with remarkable fluency and accuracy, far in excess of her previous apparent proficiency level. When, however, she was required to discuss the linguistic characteristics of the language that her interviewees had used (a dull exercise out of character with the rest of the course), her language again became hesitant and inaccurate.

Clearly, community involvement is desirable in language learning since it motivates the learner and lets him experience the language outside the semantically barren classroom in diverse, significant experiences where he interacts with native speakers in situations where natural role relationships can be established [cf. Halliday 1975:128]. The learner experiences the language as a real tool for thought, communication and the extension of personal and group identity.

THE LEARNER'S REALIZATION OF HIS OWN ABILITY

One of the beneficial effects of community involvement is that the advanced learner realizes he is able to communicate and that the errors he makes need not impede communication. He realizes that the language he is learning is real language, not restricted to use in a classroom or in literature and, in fact, he is helped to learn the vocabulary and structures directly relevant to him in his society. Most fundamentally, the experience of communicating with native speakers provides the learner with what Barber [1975] calls "a sense of hope" or "a sense of the possible" as he realizes he can use his L_2 to communicate and to establish relationships with others. If an encounter is unsuccessful, the teacher's task is to seek a balance by arranging another that may be successful or provide a more favourable experience of the other community [cf. Chapter Six, pp. 556-558].

Success, Burstall found [1974:244], produces success. Each successful encounter beneficially affects the learner's confidence and his attitude to the language and its use [cf. Savignon 1972:18, 63;

Clément et al. 1977:4, 12] and relieves him of the fear of being unable to communicate [cf. the effect of anxiety: Gardner 1974:11; Rivers 1975b:7]. Thus, it removes some of the inhibitions preventing him from mobilizing his knowledge and benefits his communicative competence. In turn, the resulting more favourable attitude to the language and its learning is likely to generalize to the people though Clément et al. [1977:12] found that it was interaction *per se* (irrespective of achievement) that correlated with cross-cultural attitudes.

In addition, this new confidence in his ability is likely to be of on-going benefit leading the learner to seek out (or at least not shy away from) further contacts with native speakers. Gardner noted in an unpublished dissertation that students with more favourable attitudes, though they did no better in class, performed better out of school and sought out more contacts [see Savignon 1972:14]. The enhanced attitude to the language, its use, and its speakers occurring in community involvement programmes in the multicultural society are likely to have a similar effect.

THE RELEVANCE OF PERSONALITY

An entirely satisfactory definition of "personality" has traditionally eluded psychologists [cf. Peck and Whitlow 1975:Chapter 1; Wright, Taylor et al. 1970:Chapter 19] but it need not particularly concern us except to note those personality factors relevant to the present discussion. Wright et al. [1970] provide an all-embracing definition of personality as

> *those relatively stable and enduring aspects of the individual which distinguish him from other people and, at the same time, form the basis of our predictions concerning his future behaviour.* [ibid.:511]

Allport, Pervin, and Peck and Whitlow define it in terms of the "dynamic" properties of the individual that lead him to respond characteristically in situations [cf. Peck and Whitlow 1975:10-11]. Rogers [ibid.:38-39] adds a further useful concept, the "ideal self" or the person as he would like himself to be. Rogers's definition helps to explain the problem in using attitude questionnaires, where responses recorded tend to be ideal and to contrast with those that emerge in a "confrontation" situation in society or in class discussion. Titone's [1975] "egodynamic" level in the processes that constitute the cognition and personality of a human being resembles the conscious "ideal self" but his theory removes the ambivalence just observed since the lower levels can be consciously controlled by the egodynamic processes.

It would seem reasonable for the present purposes to see "personality" as including the individual's hierarchy of values, attitudes, emotions and responses. If this is so, then L_2 learning entails personality modification especially if, first, it involves acquiring another (or a modified) model of the world [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter 2; Milner 1975:45, 46]. Second, language is not just something we know but something we do, something that expresses our identity. Therefore, to adopt and use a particular form of language involves adopting a particular form of personality [cf. Torrey 1971:233]. Third, if one objective of L_2 teaching is the development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes, personality modification is involved since attitude change entails modification of the individual's value or reference system, hence, of his responses in situations, and, by definition above, of his personality. These factors justify Kleinjans' observation [1972:26] of a relationship between the structure of culture and the structure of personality and Torrey's suggestion [1971:232] that learning a language involves accepting a culture and therefore a personal identity.

Furthermore, personality development, the attainment and maintenance of a coherent personality construct, is one of the major features of each person's change and development throughout life. It is very easy in a subject-oriented, classroom-bound education system to overlook the personality needs of adolescent or adult students. It would seem advantageous for the language teacher to identify the personality needs of his students, the personality crises or phases through which they pass, and to structure his activities so as to respond to them. In this way, motivation is enhanced and the L_2, instead of being peripheral to the individual, is integrated within, and as a means to, a coherent personality.

In addition, language and personality are intimately interrelated. Human beings have always identified themselves closely with the language they speak and contrasted themselves with speakers of other languages [cf. Fishman 1972a:54]. Furthermore, in negotiating the crises of personality development, language plays a major role. Halliday [1974:11] describes language as the medium by which a human being becomes a personality by virtue of its mediation between him, the world and society, as he interacts through it with others, and as he identifies, adjusts to, and adopts various social roles. More specifically, Halliday identifies a "personal function" of language evident from the early stages of development which explains the intimate relationship between language and development. Here, language is used to identify, clarify and express personal feelings, and to establish the nature of the self and the non-self. Thus, it helps to mould what the learner will identify himself as being in contrast to others [cf. Halliday 1975:20, 43]. Society, Halliday says elsewhere [1974:10, 13], consists not of participants but of relations that define social roles. These roles, and hence the person himself, are established and maintained through language and so language in this mediating function determines the person. If the L_2 is to have the power of a "real" language it must undergo similar personality identification experiences. If the learner is to operate effectively in the other society, whose role relationships are mediated by and either determined or, at least, best understood through, its language, it is clearly desirable that the learner have much experience in using the L_2 in a variety of social situations where he interacts with speakers of that language.

Titone [1975] intimately relates language and personality. Part of the individual's existential experience is of himself as a "language agent", one who establishes relationships with others through language; one who indulges in dialogue with others; one who expresses himself (his attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and experiences) through language, and whose attitudes, intentions, and volitions are, therefore, inevitably affected (altered and concretised) by their verbalization; and one whose world view has been moulded by the language that has mediated between him and the world. Adapting Descartes, Titone places language as the essence of the person: "I speak; therefore, I exist". Language is, then, more than a part of the self; it is the determinant of the self and the language (the L_2 like the L_1, if it is a real language) must be assimilated into the learner's personality. France's [1973] notion of the self as agent and as agent working through language is similar and acknowledges the learner's need to see himself as able to act through the L_2.

If this discussion of the role of language in determining the personality of the individual in society is accurate, then teaching aimed at developing personality in a direction better suited to life in a multicultural society will proceed most effectively if it provides the learner with opportunities to interact in different societies using their languages. The more varied that experience, the more open, flexible and accommodating the learner is likely to be.

Furthermore, the individual identifies closely with his language, seeing it as an integral part of himself and the manifestation of his personality. Hence, Guiora proposes a "language ego" which acquires firm boundaries [Guiora et al. 1972; Cazden et al. 1975:65-66; Schumann 1975:13]. This is recognizable in the beginning learner who says the L_2 "sounds funny" and, clearly, the boundaries of his language ego must become more "permeable" if a further language is to be successfully acquired. The learner must accept into his language ego the characteristics of the L_2, i.e., he must see himself as a speaker of that language, see as a part of his personality whatever it takes to be a speaker of the L_2, and integrate the L_2 into his personality just as the L_1 has been integrated. While L_2 learning remains, in Strevens's words [1975], peripheral, it will not be seen by the learner as an integral part of himself, and it will remain inhibited in expression. If it is to operate as a vehicle of self-expression with the same freedom as the L_1, it must be used as a natural means of achieving purposes important to the learner in situations that respond to the particular personality development needs that he has at his stage of personal (and linguistic) development.

Erikson's personality theories (even if they are not without their critics) provide insights which, in the context of the present discussion, can help to explicate the interaction between L_2 learning and personality development in the multicultural society. Erikson speaks of "phases" or "crises" to be negotiated during personality development. Acquisition of a new language entails a significant personality crisis since, even apart from the insecurity brought by inadequate language development and the retreat to seemingly childish modes of expression, acquisition of a new language carries with it the implicit necessity to re-structure one's perception of the world [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 426-431], to re-express oneself in a different way, to learn to respond according to different behavioural criteria in new situations, and, basically, to modify one's identity. Most of Erikson's [1959] eight phases or "crises" of personality development can be seen being renegotiated during language learning. Although they occur sequentially through life and characteristically at certain approximate ages, Erikson says they have continually to be renegotiated and this especially applies when a crisis of some magnitude occurs. Learning a new means of self-expression and social interaction constitutes such a crisis. The renegotiation of the personality crises over-plays and intermeshes within the total spectrum of personality development, exerting more or less influence according to the significance of language learning in his life. Where, for example, the identity crisis is not successfully negotiated in the course of acquiring a new language, the learner may never perceive himself as an L_2 speaker, as someone capable of expressing his needs and personality through the second language, and a barrier will be erected that precludes successful language mastery. On the other hand, if the identity crisis induced by learning the L_2 is not successfully mastered within the total spectrum of personality development and suitably balanced against it, then the latter may itself be vitiated and the learner either experience a total re-formation of his personality (as when he rejects entirely his own culture and assumes entirely the other), or alternatively, find himself caught between two cultures, identify with neither, and suffer a sense of anomie.

It is particularly relevant to advanced language learning within the British and Australian education systems to observe that the two major crises negotiated at this period are the identity crisis (first encountered, usually, in early adolescence but clearly confronted again on leaving the restrictive Secondary School system for the tertiary system [cf. France 1973:83-84, 86]) and the intimacy crisis. These will now be discussed.

THE IDENTITY CRISIS

In L_2 learning, the identity crisis is renegotiated as the learner perceives the L_2 speakers (especially of his own age group) as people with whom he can communicate, as people with similar needs and aspirations as himself, as people with whom he can empathize or at least sympathize, as a result of perceiving that there is some continuity, sameness, and meaning to life which persists even across languages and cultures.

The identity crisis is successfully negotiated as the learner finds himself able to use the L_2 to find out what other people think and feel, to establish his own identity and theirs through the L_2; it is negotiated as he finds himself able as a co-ordinated and valued individual to move and communicate with confidence in the L_2 community, as he finds that the L_2 people can respond to and accept him and he them. Inevitably, even at advanced levels, he will find his language proficiency and his cultural understanding to be inferior to those of the native speaker but the identity crisis entails the individual's mastery, in Erikson's words, of "an overweening conscience" and his realization that, despite such deficiencies, he can still sympathize, communicate, and be accepted for himself.

The UNESCO document *Learning to Be* [Faure et al. 1972] elucidates one aspect of the identity crises that must be renegotiated if the individual is to remain open and receptive in the multicultural society. It describes man as an unfinished being who can only fulfil himself through constant learning [ibid.:157-159; cf. Richmond 1975:91]. However, man can seek a sense of completeness by closing himself off to others and to new and different ideas [cf. for language, Schachter 1974]. Other peoples and cultures are antagonistic to this sense of completeness and hence to the security of his identity; therefore, he tends to reject them and, where they make up a minority in his society, to exert pressures to make them conform to himself. The L_2 teacher's task is to convince the learner that to be incomplete is not in itself bad but to be incomplete and to tell yourself that yours is the only form of completeness is undesirable. Rather, the awareness must be developed that, though completeness or full attainment of all one's potential in all directions is not possible, one can continue to fulfil oneself and strengthen one's identity through learning, through opening one's mind to others, through being receptive and *sympathique* to others and to their ideas. That is, identity becomes not something static but something more fluid, open to change, expanding, and in search of new insights into man and his relationships. At the same time, it continues to be coherent and integrated [cf. Adler 1974:25-27]. This is clearly a complex process, not without risk of anomie [cf. Kleinjans 1972:26], but one which life in the multicultural society demands be negotiated. Adler says:

> *The degree to which he can continually modify his frame of reference and become aware of the structures and functions of a group while at the same time maintain a clear understanding of his own personal, ethnic and cultural identifications may very well be the degree to which the multicultural person can truly function successfully between cultures.* [Adler 1974:36]

Note that it is not a question of forsaking one culture or identity for another; any exclusivist notion entailing "in" and "out" groups is antipathetic to the goals of the multicultural society. Rather, it is a question of open-mindedness, identity expansion, and *sympathie*. A second language taught as a useful and effective tool and as a means of cross-cultural understanding thus opens the learner to his incompleteness, leads him to accept it as inevitable (contrary to the moralistic effect of the error-avoidance of traditional teaching), and provides him with the means to continue to pursue personal fulfilment.

In Goodenough's terms [1963:260-2], such identity expansion comes when the individual realizes the standards of the other cultural group and can use them with confidence to guide his own actions at least when he is dealing with people of that group. In this way, his private culture (which is fundamental to his sense of identity) becomes more diverse, a collection of other wholly or partially distinct cultures that he operates in as his social and cultural contexts change.

Attainment of the aspects of identity under discussion cannot come from textbook study of lexis and grammar nor by trivial conversation in a socially, contextually and semantically barren classroom but only in the course of agreeable, stimulating and psychologically rewarding interaction with native speakers or their surrogates in a variety of situations, both formal and informal. Freire [1970a:135] observes, for instance, that one's own identity and that of others can only be established in contrast through dialogue, the "thou" calling forth the existence of the "I" [cf. Milner 1975:44]. The social interaction provided by community involvement activities in an L_2 programme contributes in this way.

Ultimately, the identity crisis, successfully negotiated through this form of rewarding interaction, will lead the learner to perceive himself as, and to be, the sort of "multicultural" man [Lambert and Aellen 1969:267; Adler 1974] who can move with relative ease in any community and who has the power to mediate between cultural groups and ultimately to change society [cf. pp. 501-517]. On the other hand, if the identity crisis generated by the L_2 learning experience is not successfully negotiated (or is simply not undergone), the personality's defensive mechanisms are likely, in the face of cultural difference, to operate to reject what is different in order to protect the identity from insecurity and diffusion. Such rejection may seem to bring a sense of identity but one which is necessarily narrow, ethnocentric, always subject to doubt in the face of difference, antagonistic to others, and not conducive to a fruitful and harmonious life in the multicultural society.

In the normal continuum of personality growth, the search for personal identity precedes the search for intimacy since, without certainty of his own identity, the individual will lack the confidence to negotiate satisfying interpersonal relationships. Gardner and Santos [1970:12] found that integratively motivated students are generally satisfied with their role in society, i.e., their identity construct seems relatively secure. Similarly, unless the learner is sure of himself as an L_2 speaker, he will lack the confidence to focus beyond himself and the language to establish relationships with other L_2 speakers.

THE INTIMACY CRISIS

The intimacy crisis is manifested in adolescents' seeking to establish close personal relationships with others, in forming intimate friendships, in Fromm's terms [1957:Chapter 1], in learning how to love, or, as Erikson says, in satisfying their "need for a kind of fusion with the essence of other people and for a communion with their own inner resources". In Fromm's view [1957:9, 18], this is the deepest need of man, the need to overcome his separateness. Although the focal period for this crisis is late adolescence, it recurs continually especially as one moves into new social situations.

It is not being suggested here that the teacher of the advanced learner should seek to encourage cross-cultural romantic liaisons - that is not his province and is an excessively narrow interpretation of what is involved - but he should be aware of this particularly intensive need in his students and of the powerful motivating force that this personality crisis provides. As Halliday has made clear [1975; 1974:Chapters I, II, III], it is in using language in interpersonal interaction and for the achievement of some end that it takes on meaning. If the L_2 is to become a real language for the learner in the same way that his L_1 is, with the range of denotative, connotative and functional meanings that the L_1 has, it is desirable that it also should be experienced in use responding to this need, i.e., in social contexts where the opportunity arises for the learner to use the L_2 in forming friendships, perhaps establishing close relationships, and, again in Fromm's terms, "learning how to love". Language teaching whose central learning activities include opportunities for this to occur with native speakers of the L_2, especially where they are members of another ethnic group in the multicultural society, makes language learning more relevant to the basic needs of the individual and of society, practises the language in activities of intrinsic importance to the learner, and promotes the development of more natural and "essential" understanding of the other cultural group.

The views enunciated in this discussion of personality and L_2 learning have recognized that language is the medium by which a human being becomes a personality by virtue of its mediation between him and society [cf. Halliday 1974:11]. The personality crises are worked out through language and, since personality has been taken to include the individual's hierarchy of values, attitudes, emotions and responses, L_2 learning necessarily entails personality modification and it is appropriate and, indeed, inevitable that the personality crises should again, at least in part, be worked out through the L_2. In providing the opportunity for the L_2 to be exercised in the personality crises which the adolescent's growth and which L_2 acquisition and the associated attitudinal changes entail, the teacher is providing relevant, motivating contexts in which to practise the L_2, the L_2 is being learned through its purposeful use for the achievement of other desired ends, and the teacher is permitting his teaching to be responsive to the felt needs of the learners and of the society. Thus, he promotes the development of both skills and attitudes favourable to life in the multicultural society.

CONSCIENTIZATION

Paulo Freire's notion of conscientization provides insights valuable in promoting language learning, in fostering attitude change, and in developing methodology. It is defined as the process by which men as knowing subjects achieve awareness of the sociocultural reality and of their ability to change it [Freire 1970:51]. This is an integral part of enlightened education, according to Freire, at least of education which is creative and frees the learner from passive conformity to the educational or social establishment, and he rejects any approach which reduces learning (in his case, of literacy by adults or, for us, of language) to "purely technical action" [ibid.:22]. Rather, he stresses the absolute necessity of the learner's recognizing and reflecting upon the nature of society, identifying or "communing" with the people, and then, in that context, acting with others to change the world [ibid.:54, 75].

Such views applied to language learning in the multicultural society substitute a dynamic, socially important role for language learning for its traditionally passive and receptive role. They imply a view of language learning which matches well the psycholinguistic implications outlined in Chapter Four.

DISCUSSION OF CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES

One implication from conscientization is that there is advantage in the attitudinal goal and the reasons for it being made clear to the learners.

This has the double effect, first, of raising relevant issues for discussion and, second, of encouraging reading and other activities (e.g., use of L_2 versions of the Oxfam games) which directly involve attitudinal issues. Such activities highlight the effect of one culture and its values on another, increase the learner's understanding of the factors that create cultural systems, provide further vicarious experience of what it is to belong to another culture and to live in other circumstances, and lead the learner to understand what he can do to improve the world. Through this conscientization process he becomes aware of the equality of races, cultures and languages and of the limitations that his own enculturation has imposed on him. With that realization he is better able to modify his attitudes [cf. pp. 487-501] and to develop a sensitivity that crosses cultural boundaries. The comments of Peck and Whitlow on effecting personality change support this view:

> *...for effective personality change...the level of 'self-exploration' which requires the client to explore his feelings, values, relationships and fears, may be an important determinant of successful outcome.* [Peck and Whitlow 1975:45]

In Paulo Freire's words:

> *Only beings who can reflect upon the fact that they are determined are capable of freeing themselves. Their reflectiveness results not just in a vague and uncommitted awareness, but in the exercise of a profoundly transforming action upon the determining reality.* [Freire 1970:52]

Thus, the learner must become aware of the sociocultural reality and of his power as a member of the society to change ethnocentric attitudes and injustices. In addition, this approach provides him with the linguistic tools and cross-cultural attitudes which, in the multicultural society, are fundamental to that change. At the very least, he becomes the "marginal man...with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence...the more civilised human being" [Lambert and Aellen 1969:267 citing Park]. He is the "multicultural man" whose identity is continually being expanded [cf. pp. 494-499; cf. Adler 1974:29]. He perceives the fundamental unity within the diversity of people of different cultures; his "praxis" is that of a mediator between the cultures of the society or of the world so as to ensure that communities do not enter into conflict through misunderstanding, that all people benefit from the cultural resources of the society, and that the rights of language and culture of each person are respected [cf. Adler 1974:esp. 24, 29, 37].

In this view, language learning expands beyond the learning of syntax and lexis to become a process of conscientization and of praxis itself (since learning takes place through community involvement). Thus, language teaching assumes a central role in education for social transformation or "cultural action for freedom" in the multicultural society. It makes education, language teaching in particular, an essentially humanizing process, i.e., one in which human potential is fully realized:

> *...the existent subject reflects upon his life within the very domain of existence, and questions his relationship with the world...*
>
> *Whereas animals adapt themselves to the world to survive, men modify the world in order to be more...* [Freire 1970:52, 55]

Clearly, in this process, consideration of cross-cultural issues plays an essential role. It may lead the learner to adopt an "ideal self" more conformable to the needs of the multicultural society and which may eventually affect his unconscious attitudes and responses [cf. pp. 487-501]. Milner [1975:234-235; 242-249] advocates discussion of cross-cultural issues and cites studies where it resulted in very significant decreases in racial prejudice [cf. Williams 1970:76-77]. Erikson believes that "conscious acceptance of certain truths about himself and others" was essential if a man was to be "master of himself" [Erikson 1968a:15] and Fromm states that one must know a person oneself objectively to overcome illusions, see his reality, and "know him in his ultimate essence, in the act of love" [Fromm 1957:31]. In addition, Freire [1970:51-53] points out that, without this "objectification" in the course of which the learner reflects upon the world and becomes aware of both his own nature and that of the world, man is not a "conscious being", cannot grasp the nature of reality, set goals, or transform the world. However, discussion or reflection alone is insufficient since the relationship between the "theoretical context" or issues discussed and the "concrete context" or practical reality must be made clear and this is only possible, in Freire's words, through praxis. Critical knowledge does not exist as verbal knowledge outside of praxis: discussion, concrete experience, interaction or "communion", and action to improve the world must go on simultaneously; action and reflection must both occur [Freire 1970:36, 75; 1970a:28, 29, 41]. In L_2 teaching, consideration of cross-cultural issues either in formal discussion or through language games of the Oxfam type is desirable but must be accompanied by community involvement activities that let the learner interact with the other community and confront social issues in praxis.

On the other hand, a study cited by the Schools Council [1972] concluded that teaching about racial prejudice increased rather than decreased prejudice. The Schools Council paper [1972:10] comments that providing a forum for its expression may force people to assume a stance and so make suppressed prejudice overt and articulate. However, that does not mean that prejudice has necessarily been increased. Rather, the confrontation or "conflict" situation that discussion creates exteriorizes unconscious or suppressed attitudes, which can then be subjected to rational examination and the "ideal self" given an opportunity to influence the unconscious responses [cf. pp. 487-488]. The learners must, Freire says [1970: 35], confront the reasons behind their attitudes to eliminate any "interiorized cultural 'residue'". Milner [1975:Chapters 2, 7] shows that attitudes are unconsciously taught, learned, and maintained and methods which do not bring forward the unconscious responses have little chance of successfully changing attitudes. Kleinjans also notes the contrast between conscious and unconscious attitudes and illustrates them with Americans' belief in their "individualism" in contrast with their slavish adherence to fashion. "Stripping off the blinders", he says [1972:28-29], may facilitate attitude change. Similarly, we saw that, in clinical psychology, "self-exploration" which exteriorizes feelings, values and attitudes for examination helps to effect personality change [Peck and Whitlow 1975:45]. Bruner's criticism of Kelly's systematic personality theories leads to a similar conclusion when he says that "when some people get angry or inspired or in love they couldn't care less about their 'system as a whole'" [ibid.:53-54], i.e., they react according to their deeper, even suppressed attitudes which can be exteriorized for rational examination and modification only in some "crisis" situation. Strasheim [1975:245] recommends that the teacher pose questions which oblige students to probe into their own feelings [cf. Freire 1970:36; 1970a:56]. Finally, the example Tucker and Lambert [1972:29] provide of American students being shocked by African students who ate grasshoppers and had dirty feet illustrates how a "crisis" or confrontation situation may exteriorize unconscious attitudes and their causes allowing them to be re-assessed.

Nevertheless, the discussion of these basic attitudes and responses or any new cross-cultural experience must be sufficiently long to enable the learner to regain stability in his cognitive and attitudinal structures or he is likely only to harden his former attitudes [cf. pp. 464-475; Bochner 1975:4]. In addition, personal experience of other cultures is essential so that the learner might realize the indifferent and fortuitous nature of his own, and the inappropriateness of cross-cultural, value judgements. That is, conscientization, reflection and praxis must proceed together.

THE POWER OF THE LEARNER

In Chapter Four, we observed the creative power of the language learner and we have noted, in considering conscientization, his social power as a mediator in the multicultural society. Conscientization also leads to an active and dynamic view of education that is important in devising methodology and in considering the education of the learner for social change in the multicultural society.

In Chapter Four, we saw that language learning is an active, dynamic, and heuristic process where the focus falls on the learner and on learning through purposeful use. It is the antithesis of passive or receptive approaches which focus on the teacher and his presentation or out-pouring of knowledge. Such traditional methods imply that the learner is incapable of initiating action from his own resources and, linguistically, that complete knowledge of the L_2 lexis and syntax precedes communicative competence. Learners are viewed as "receptacles to be filled by the teacher", encouraged to accept a passive role, and to adapt to the world as it is rather than critically examine it, seek the nature of reality for themselves, or devise strategies in collaboration with others to change it [cf. Freire 1970:23-24, 43-44; 1970a:44-47, 49]. Such methods make the learner fully dependent on the teacher as source of knowledge. It is what Freire [1970:13] deplores as a "mechanistic theory" that reduces education to a set of techniques to be mastered and standardizes it into a "sterile and bureaucratic operation". Elsewhere, he sums up this approach:

> *Based on a mechanistic, static, naturalistic, spatialized view of consciousness,* [the banking concept of education] *transforms students into receiving objects. It attempts to control thinking and action, leads men to adjust to the world, and inhibits their creative power.* [Freire 1970a:51]

Every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world [cf. Freire 1970:21] and if the teacher's approach to education (including language education) assumes that the learner has the power and requires the freedom to learn, it will also tacitly teach him that he is a dynamic creature with the power and freedom to act to change society. Rather than education's being "deposit-making", Freire suggests, it should pose the problems of men in relation with the world so that, instead of passivizing the learner and inhibiting his critical power, it is constantly "unveiling reality" and encouraging his "critical intervention in reality".

When these views are applied to the learning of the elements of the language, they suggest that, rather than language teaching being concerned with "deposit-making" as in audiolingual or traditional methods, it should pose communication problems for the learner by involving him in real communication situations of significance to himself as a developing individual and to the society in which he lives. This approach develops the learner's innate, creative language learning capacities and perceptive powers making him independent rather than dependent. It makes the learning situation more vitally important by relating it to his interests and needs (since he controls the community involvement situation) and it makes him critically aware of the nature and needs of the multicultural society (through the community involvement activities, his contacts with members of other communities, and by confronting him with cross-cultural issues). It puts him in a situation where he wants to and must communicate, it tells at least the advanced learner that he can communicate and must observe, find out for himself, and invent if he is momentarily at a loss, and it therefore breaks down passivity and dependence [cf. Freire 1970a:40]. It frees him from the "vicious circle" of traditional approaches that prevent him from acting until he can avoid errors even though psycholinguistics informs us that he will not acquire language until he "acts", i.e., uses language and makes errors. It embodies the act of language learning in meaning, self-expression, communication, functional and purposeful use (hence praxis [Freire 1970:21]), and in action for social change. In brief, it gives the L_2 the same vitality as the L_1 and releases L_2 learning from the constraints of the directed and passive classroom to play its role in catering for the needs of the multicultural society. Freire underlines the essential nature of language for which this approach caters when he describes it as "word-and-action" [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 328-331].

The contrast that this approach to L_2 learning makes with more traditional approaches is highlighted by an example that Freire gives which, though it is intended to illustrate traditional adult literacy programmes, is reminiscent of L_2 materials:

> *The banking approach to adult education, for example, will never propose to students that they consider reality critically. It will deal instead with such vital questions as whether Roger gave green grass to the goat, and insist upon the importance of learning that, on the contrary, Roger gave green grass to the rabbit. The 'humanism' of the banking approach masks the effort to turn men into automatons - the very negation of their ontological vocation to be more fully human.* [Freire 1970a:48]

Another aspect of language learning paralleled in education for social change is that of postulating objectives. Chapter Four emphasized that language is a means to an end and is best learned when being used to achieve some purpose. Language of the sort illustrated in Freire's example above and characteristic of pattern drills and the controlled conversations of language classrooms (where items are being practised with no concern for content and questions are asked to elicit already known answers) is being used without normal external objectives. In Freire's terms [1970:21], it is action without objectives and hence is not praxis; it dehumanizes the learner by discouraging him from setting and seeking goals [cf. ibid.:54]. Practice of this sort suggests to the learner that he cannot himself identify objectives, it gives him no experience of personally concretising objectives into action, and further perpetuates a sense of his passivity and his need to accept the status quo. The objectives that are set up are invariably mass objectives (even in many "individualized" courses) and are either inappropriate to the learner or, at best, standardized; hence, they subjugate individuality and erode the learner's belief in his capacity to know reality, to set objectives, and to act independently of a directing authority. This is again contrary to the approach to language learning, at least at the advanced level, that has emerged in Chapters Four and Five.

It is essential in education for life in the multicultural society that each student come to see the positive part he can play in that society. That includes his contribution as a member of the society to the society's attitudes to cultural and racial diversity; it includes his role as a "multicultural man" mediating between ethnic communities; and it includes his role as a member of the society in capitalizing upon its cultural and linguistic resources to maximally strengthen its cultural evolution. The concept of the learner implicit in the foregoing discussion of education stresses the power of each individual in determining the nature of his society and in contributing attitudes that lead to the integration and acceptance by the total society of ethnic minorities [cf. Johansson 1975:5].

Throughout this discussion, a parallel has developed between language education and education for social change. It is a parallel not dissimilar to that observed between strategies for language learning [Chapter Four] and strategies for attitude development [Chapter Five]. It is inevitable that the total perspective of man in society will affect one's perspective of the learner in education. In addition, it has been stressed that the way the learner is educated will affect the role he sees for himself and the power he sees himself as having in society. In a sense, whatever one is teaching to a learner (whether it be literacy, syntax and lexis, or philosophy), one is also teaching him his role and power in society, conveying a vision of man and the world. Freire states:

> ...*the literacy process must relate* speaking the word *to* transforming reality, *and to man's role in this transformation... Such a perception will lead the learners to recognize a much greater right than that of being literate. They will ultimately recognize that, as men, they have the right to have a voice.* [Freire 1970:31]

If L_2 teaching in the multicultural society is teaching for attitude change and, therefore, for changes in the social system to remove injustices, to humanize (i.e., fulful the human potential of) each generation, and to enrich the society by making its resources available to all, then the education process must ensure that the learners develop the skills, initiatives and power needed to transform the society rather than only be socialized to conform to an existing structure. It will ensure that each individual recognizes that to be fully human he must not diminish the capacity of others to be so in their own way (e.g., through the expression of their own culture [cf. Lambert 1967:231]). He will recognize that he becomes more and acquires the power to humanize and transform society when he, as an "open" being, shares or "communes" with other people or, as an enculturated being, with other cultures and races [cf. Richmond 1975:189; Freire 1970a:41, 135-136; 1970:21, 51, 75]. Man's full potential, conscientization, and the "liberating idea" for social change come as the nature of reality is grasped. They develop from experience, reflection, communion, and praxis, and, hence, in language learning in the multicultural society, out of interaction during community involvement activities [cf. Freire 1970:52, 75, 76; 1970a:52]. Similarly, if the learner's language is to be creative and have expressive power, if a "culture of silence" is not to be taught [cf. Freire 1970:43-44], learning must go on in circumstances that foster creativity and self-expression as integral parts of the learning process.

Finally, the intersection of education for social change, language education for attitude development, and language learning for communicative competence is seen in the selection of content for the language course. Traditional approaches (whether audiolingual or traditional grammar-translation-literature) have been largely élitest. They have generally endorsed the view that the formal (usually written) register of one socially marked "standard" dialect is the only acceptable form of the language. Further, what has generally counted has not been communication and understanding of a people and their culture but success in the "game" of formal examinations requiring such meticulous attention to detail largely irrelevant to communication that most students failed [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 47 - 72]. Traditional attitudes to fine literature reflect the same élitest tendencies since their frequent corollary (imposed by time if not intent) is that the culture of the mass of the L_2 people is inferior and contact with ordinary people is unnecessary and may be undesirable. The rejection by the Italian Syllabus Committee of the language of the Queensland Italian community [Chapter Two, p.162] exemplifies this. It implies that the learner who can, with effort, decline some nouns, conjugate some verbs, and construe some sentences in the standard dialect but not order food in an Italian restaurant, read a newspaper, or find out the political views of his Italian neighbour is superior to that neighbour. Such an approach to the selection of content for the course reinforces the subservient image of the Italian community and divides rather than unites the multicultural society.

Education that takes account of reality, education for social change, for conscientization, and for communicative competence must correct these misplaced values and give human interaction, communication, and understanding greater worth.

CONCLUSION

The implications for methodology that emanate from the views expressed in this chapter are, in sum, identical with those from the psycholinguistic studies of Chapter Four. Both chapters lead to a focus on the learner and his use of the language. The teacher's task is to pose relevant problems, involve the learner in real situations where significant communication with native speakers in the multicultural society will occur, and then yield to him full responsibility for learning. It implies an essentially humanistic approach:

> *A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in the people...than by a thousand actions in their favour without that trust.* [Freire 1970a:36]

In terms of attitude development, the central theme of this chapter, the focus has been on the learner's experiencing the other culture and interacting with the other people. Attitude change is a most difficult task for the formal education system because of the power of the other socializing influences [cf. Milner 1975:249] but language teaching which lifts the learner into another culture to experience what it is to belong to that culture has particular advantages over approaches that only raise issues for discussion. By encouraging interaction and providing language skills useful beyond the classroom, language teaching extends its attitude development role beyond the school limits into the society and the realm of friends and relatives where the other socializing influences exist.

Finally, Jarvis has vividly stated the goals of language teaching which fosters skills and attitudes suitable for life in the multicultural society:

> *The concept of cultural pluralism demands not only awareness of differences but also the accepting and valuing of diversity in people. Pluralism is the antithesis of assimilation; it is recognition that there exist multiple ways to be human, and not one of these multiple ways should exact a penalty of second-class citizenship. It is recognition of each person's 'selfness'. Such recognition implies awareness. That awareness, in turn, requires acceptance of what one is or what one is becoming. It is also the parallel awareness that others too have their own identities and uniqueness. Thus, cultural pluralism requires both cognitive awareness of various sorts and a subsequent value system that permits me to be me and you to be you — and that at the same time values a sense of community.* [Jarvis 1976: 243-244]

It is through interaction between communities that language learning achieves this awareness. The task for the next chapter is to ensure that the requisite community involvement activities can be integrated into a coherent and comprehensive advanced language learning programme that, in addition, takes account of the needs identified in Chapters Two and Three and the learning strategies discussed in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

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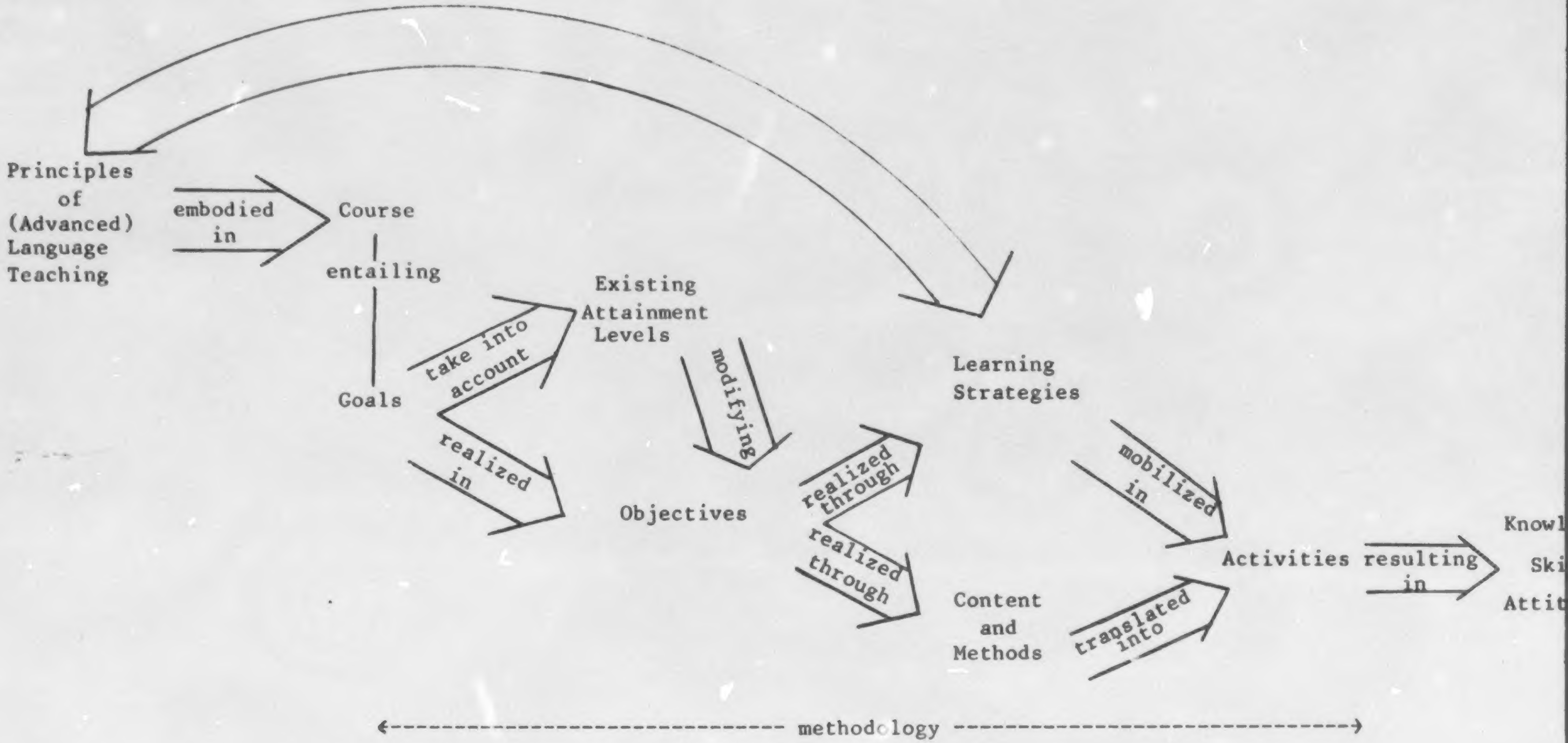
AN APPROACH TO ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING

INTRODUCTION

The methodology outlined in this chapter grows out of a thorough re-appraisal of the nature of advanced language teaching using, in particular, insights gained from the fundamental sciences. In Chapter One, the nature of language proficiency was discussed and, in Chapters Two and Three, the proficiency that students bring to the advanced stage and the needs that this stage must satisfy were elucidated. Chapter Four sought insights from psycholinguistics into how language is learned. Chapter Five placed language learning in a social context and sought insights from psychological and sociolinguistic aspects of language and its learning. In the light of these studies, basic principles of L_2 learning and teaching have emerged which could be summarized as follows:

> *Language is learned through meaningful use in which the learner actively observes and initiates utterances. Desirable cross-cultural attitudes may be developed through interaction with members of the other culture.*
>
> *Language teaching will be effective in promoting the goals of language proficiency and favourable cross-cultural attitudes to the extent that it capitalizes upon natural learning strategies and encourages the learner to actively use the language in real communication for purposes of importance to himself as a social being in a particular social context, and in interaction with native speakers and their surrogages.*


Principles of (Advanced) Language Teaching
embodied in
Course
entailing
Goals
take into account
Existing Attainment Levels
realized in
Objectives
modifying
realized through
realized through
Learning Strategies
Content and Methods
mobilized in
translated into
Activities
resulting in
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(Note: "Goals" refers to the long-term and overall aims, e.g., native-like proficiency and favourable cross-cultural attitudes. The term "objectives" is used to refer to short-term and intermediate aims such as the attainment of a speaking proficiency of S-2.)

Figure 3: Realization in Practice of the Principles of (Advanced) Language Teaching.

From this basis, principles specifically relevant to various aspects and stages of language teaching can be elaborated. This is exemplified for advanced language teaching in a multicultural society in Appendix Six. The basic principles of language learning and teaching are realized in practice through course content and method in the process illustrated in Figure 3. This chapter will elaborate the lowest line of this figure but will first differentiate advanced methodology from earlier stages and the present approach from earlier theories.

HOW ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING DIFFERS FROM THE EARLIER STAGES

We observed earlier [Chapter One, pp. 2 - 5; Chapter Three, pp. 272-280] that there are few studies of the advanced learner in the literature of applied linguistics and he is usually treated little differently from elementary students [cf. Van Passel 1974: 121]. Yet very real differences do exist.

The most obvious way in which methods for advanced stages differ from those for earlier stages is in the readiness with which students can be involved in using the language, especially in interaction with native speakers. With beginners in an FL (as against L_2) learning situation, the limited experience of the language that the classroom provides hinders the functioning of their natural learning processes and precludes their realistic use of the language. This is not so with advanced learners who have already had some 500 hours of language study and have ostensibly been taught the syntactic framework of the language and several thousand lexical items. Thus, it is more reasonable to think of their being plunged into using the language in community involvement activities and interdisciplinary studies. In other words, at the advanced level, more freedom, less formal work, and less control are feasible (even desirable) since the learner has more knowledge to fall back on, to use in alternative expression, and to use to support new experiences.

We noted earlier that many of the "errors" in matriculation French were in items that would have been met frequently in normal Secondary School courses [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 155-156, 72-76, 87-109]. Thus, one of the major needs is for the advanced learner to learn to mobilize his passive, formally learned knowledge [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363 - 366]. In this, he differs from the elementary learner who has yet to experience so much of the language. That is not to say, of course, that the advanced learner's linguistic competence is fully developed but he does have a significant, latent store of language which, at least for production purposes, he needs to be able to mobilize more readily.

It was argued earlier that formal grammatical learning is best planned using feedback from community involvement and other "focus on use" activities [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 355 - 361, 363 - 366 ; Chapter Six, pp. 589-608]. The self-direction that this requires is clearly more practicable with advanced learners whose wider experience of the L_2 syntax allows them more readily to select the areas needing attention.

Students entering the advanced stage still tend to operate at the word level [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 99-102, 109-114]. Traditional translation approaches to methodology may cause this but, in practice at least, it suggests an important difference between advanced and earlier stages. Though the hierarchic view of L_1 learning [Chapter Four, pp. 421 - 423] suggests that all learners should focus, first, on larger semantic units and come to increasingly specific details later, in practice, the opposite has occurred in L_2 teaching. Consequently, the advanced learner must come to focus on larger chunks, on sentences and texts rather than words. He must learn to use the features of discourse and cohesion that weld texts together and weave the lines of argument in the sophisticated forms of interaction he will wish to comprehend and produce.

Wide, diverse experience is essential to ensure effective learning of language and culture [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 348 - 350; Chapter Five, pp. 464 - 475]. The elementary learner is in danger of "drowning" but the advanced learner who already has a core of cultural and linguistic knowledge to serve as a nucleus for further understanding is better able to cope and, in fact, needs this all-embracing experience to fill out his knowledge.

The differentiation between elementary and advanced language learning implicit here is different from that of Valette and Disick [1972] who see language development passing through four stages with emphasis successively on form, meaning, communication and creative use. It became clear in Chapter Four that all these "stages" are evident throughout L_1 and natural L_2 learning even if in changing forms and that, in fact, they must exist at all stages if the language is to be learned as a "real" language.

THIS APPROACH COMPARED WITH EARLIER THEORIES

When one reflects on the writings of language teachers over the centuries as contained, for instance, in Hesse's excellent selection [1975], it is easy to conclude that there is little in any era that has not been said before. Erasmus, for instance [ibid.:Chapter 1], emphasized natural learning, "focus on use", and contextualization even though he did not use such terms. Luther and Vives [ibid.:Chapters 2 and 3] stressed the oral language.

One major difference here comes from the importance this thesis places on catering for the needs of the multicultural society. Montaigne and Comenius [ibid.:Chapters 6 and 7] recognized a multicultural world society and the role of language study in it. However, they did not adequately follow the implications through into objectives and methods. The approach in this thesis goes further and develops language teaching as an instrument for social change in the learner's immediate society. In this, conscientization and community involvement become key components of methodology and make language learning more obviously and directly important to the learner in his everyday life in the multicultural society.

A further difference between the theorizing of this thesis and that of earlier writers is the way methodology is developed. In the past, writers depended largely on their intuitions or on less direct research sometimes (as in audiolingualism) extrapolated from animal studies. Here, more adequate and objective accounts of the nature of L_1 and L_2 learning have been available. This enables the methodology to better match the learner's natural processes without being a slave to them, as Direct Method exponents sometimes were [cf. Mackey 1965:145]. While a natural learning schedule is recognized, for example, the teacher is encouraged to intervene with structured learning experiences to promote acquisition of the structures for which the learner is developmentally ready. The learner's sensitivity to structural need identifies the appropriate structures for formal study.

Another difference between this and the Direct Method lies in the use of both languages. In some of its forms, the latter [cf. ibid.:145] excluded the L_1 from the classroom but, while its use is reduced to a minimum in the methods proposed here, there seems little point in excluding it from necessary explanations (e.g., of structure). It seems more sensible to explain briefly and clearly in the L_1 and to get on to practising the items in more normal interaction activities than classroom explanations. The methods outlined here use community involvement as the most important L_2 learning activity because the interaction entailed is natural and enhances attitude development.

The present methodology also differs from earlier ones in the availability of functional studies of language. While these studies are still in an early stage, they have already suggested a new, function- or skill-based approach to course design that is proving successful especially at the advanced stage [see Cowie and Heaton 1977]. This is, in fact, part of a more fundamental difference. In earlier approaches, the language seemed to be learned as an end in itself or as access to literature, while its "real" use came after it had been learned. This is evident, for example, in Gouin's somewhat artificial "series" method and in most versions of the Direct Method. In this thesis, use of the language, especially its use as a tool in interdisciplinary studies and in interaction between groups in the multicultural society, is both an integral part of the teaching-learning programme and an ultimate learning goal. Thus, the powers of the learner are recognized and mobilized as the motivated and conscientized student learns through using the language for purposes significant to himself and his society. This innovation is made possible partly because we are considering the advanced learner whereas Gouin, Viëtor and most other writers have been concerned with language teaching in general but usually, in effect, with the elementary learner. Thus, again, this thesis differs from earlier works in focussing on the advanced stage even while it acknowledges that certain commonalities (e.g., of learning strategies) may permeate all stages.

It is already evident that the methodology proposed here is very different from audiolingualism. Despite the frequent claim that audiolingual methods are active and use-based [e.g., Wilkins 1974:66], they are not so. Rather, the learner's utterances are usually firmly controlled, little learner-initiated use of the language occurs, and imitation and repetition predominate as learning strategies. While the learner *seems* to be active, this activity is superficial and is often little more than mechanical parroting. Furthermore, much of the methodological effort in audiolingualism (and, for that matter, in "traditional" teaching) went into planning drills (and grammatical explanations), i.e., into ways of presenting information for assimilation. The focus of methodology was thus on the teacher and the UNESCO experts validly complained in 1976 that "present methodologies" neglect the learner's contribution

[UNESCO 1976:4]. The methodology in this thesis turns the focus onto the learner, encourages him to initiate utterances, and uses activities that maximize the effectiveness of his contribution to the learning process.

Some of Gouin's [1892] views, though little concerned with advanced learners, resemble aspects of this thesis though his personal, anecdotal and intuitive approach to theory development is different from that adopted here. Without the research studies available a century later, Gouin revealed remarkable observational powers as he watched children learning to speak. He recognized the need to integrate the L_2 and the learner's personality, the need to match the conceptual structure to the L_2, and the fact that language is learned through active use. He observed [1892:60] three "constituent parts" in language (objective, subjective and figurative language) which today would probably be termed language functions. Unfortunately, the main methodological proposals these insights lead to are his "series". Although these are excellent for creating the associations of words in a semantic field which may facilitate their retention and recall and promote the re-structuring of the learner's model of the world, they are as artificial as audiolingual pattern drills and involve a use of the language that is no more "active" in the sense used in this thesis than are pattern drills.

PRINCIPLES OF METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

It is not proposed to discuss here the theory of course design or the taxonomic analysis of objectives. These are rich fields for academic study, as is exemplified, for course design, by Banathy and Lange [1972], Stevick [1972], Finocchiaro [1974], Van Ek [1975], and Wilkins [1976] and, for objectives, by Valette and Disick 1972 and Bloom et al. 1971 (especially Chapter 22). In this chapter, the planning of courses will be considered in practical terms to show the implications of the issues raised in the earlier chapters for objectives, methods, and content in advanced language learning programmes in the multicultural society. First, the general framework in which methods and content exist will be discussed.

DEVELOPING AN INTEGRATED PROGRAMME

The immediate objectives of an advanced course have been identified as the rapid attainment of a proficiency level of at least S-3, R-3 and the development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes [cf. Chapters Two and Three, pp. 155-159, 159-169, 284-285; Appendix Three]. In the longer term, the linguistic goal may be higher (at least S-4, R-4), together with other specialist skills (e.g., in a certain register or in certain functions). However, the latter are facilitated by the prior development of "general proficiency" to a degree where the language becomes a viable tool for other purposes (e.g., literary or academic study) and it is primarily this form of development that this thesis has considered. In any case, the methodology used to develop a specialist area would be little different except that the expanse of the language dealt with would be more restricted.

In all courses, the need for variety in activities to maintain interest and develop proficiency in a number of directions simultaneously creates a danger of fragmentation. Consequently, some integrating principle is required. Thus, for example, "extramural activities" [see pp. 581-582] can seem peripheral but a course aimed at developing favourable cross-cultural attitudes through community involvement integrates them into the total programme by relating them, for example, to a social studies component in culture teaching, to "learning through use", and to the learner's re-thinking his model of the world. Similarly, the same goal can integrate reading practice by selecting material on the theme of race relations or providing information about the relevant ethnic community in the learner's society.

In the context created by the preceding chapters, community involvement provides one useful integrating principle for advanced language teaching in the multicultural society. It can, for example, suggest the functions to be practised and the registers to be developed. Thus, telephone skills, functions relevant to making appointments and sending invitations, and the language for discussing daily life in the C_1 are suggested. In addition, community involvement permits advanced students to develop proficiency in areas they see as relevant to themselves. They are able to select for interview people with interests like their own, to direct interviews as they wish, and, hence, to select for development before, during and after the interviews those language registers and skills in which they wish to be proficient. In a traditional, "mass" approach to advanced language teaching, the diversity of courses needed if students are to develop those skills, registers or functions relevant to their individual needs poses an insuperable problem [cf. Australian Academy of the Humanities Committee on Foreign Languages 1975:33]. However, the community involvement approach supplemented by individualized learning activities overcomes it.

Interdisciplinary studies [see Chapter Three, pp. 210 - 229] may also provide an integrating principle. Whereas the community involvement approach develops general proficiency with some option for specialist registers and functions depending on the interviewees selected, interdisciplinary courses narrow down the selection of language permitted to pre-determined registers. Similar principles (e.g., learning through use, using language as a means not an end) operate and interaction similar to that in community involvement can be readily included. Thus, interdisciplinary approaches are complementary to, rather than different from, community involvement approaches. We shall also see that the inclusion of some interdisciplinary study in a course can facilitate community involvement.

In courses that aim at teaching functions and registers, the relationship between such features and the syntax and lexis which might realize them poses particular difficulties for integration. One solution is a modular approach to course design in which the syntax and lexis used in the desired functions are identified, taught separately, and then practised in those functions in specific communication situations [cf. Straker Cook 1975; Ingram 1976]. In any case, McLean's [1975] study of ways of following-up structures presented in a television programme showed that a situational follow-up in which the items were re-used in simulated "real life" activities re-creating the situations of the programme was markedly more effective than no follow-up or structural drills. At the advanced level, a three-tier approach would be useful, involving communication situations, functions, and syntax and lexis. Thus, the classroom is a communication situation (or set of situations) requiring such functions as interrogation and description (e.g., in a geography course in the L_2), which, in turn, entail certain syntax (e.g., question forms, descriptive statements with such predicate structures as $VP \rightarrow V + Adv_{place}$). A party is another relevant communication situation, entailing certain functions (such as writing, accepting and declining invitations, greeting, farewelling, and entering and exiting from conversations) and corollary syntax and lexis (e.g., question forms and courtesy features). This approach "slots into" a community involvement approach since the communication situations chosen can be those to be used in interaction in the community.

Such a modular approach is useful to ensure that all necessary syntax and lexis are known. However, we observed earlier that, by the advanced stage, the major need students have is to enhance their ability to mobilize their existing knowledge. Their deficiencies can probably best be catered for through a feedback link from activities in which the language is used into an individualized grammar programme [see Figure 4, p. 649 and pp. 566-573, 589-608]. This ensures that the grammar formally studied is appropriate to the individual's point in the developmental schedule and provides a course structure more relevant to each individual student than a single-strand programme [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 412-421]. For the same reason, a structure-based approach to syllabus design (such as is implicit in the various grammar programmes common in tertiary institutions [e.g., Carlut and Meiden 1968]) is not appropriate for advanced learners. It is particularly inappropriate if one recalls the importance of the "learning through use" strategy [Chapter Four, pp. 321-325] and the fact that language is learned in response to felt need [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 432-434]. The feedback design can cater for the other features of language and slots well into community development as the principal language-use activity.

An advanced course must also take account of the fact that it is necessarily limited in scope, it is terminal for most students, and, if they are to continue to learn,it must encourage subsequent learning, i.e., its methods must integrate it with future learning needs. Traditional teacher-dominated courses tend to make the learner dependent whereas a more constructive programme should develop the learner's ability to learn for himself [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 508-517]. An individualized programme which teaches him to introspect his own language and needs, and encourages self-direction and self-reliance assists in this. Even though the success of such programmes depends on each student's learning style and personality [cf. pp. 566-573], unless those students not disposed to accept individual responsibility are taught to do so, their learning will cease at the end of the course. Most of all, a course will promote a learner's own subsequent independent learning if it develops his natural strategies, innate capacities, and sensitivity to language and its forms [cf. Chapter Four]. This is particularly important in the multicultural society since, provided his independence has been developed, he has at hand the permanent means to continue his language development even after leaving the tertiary institution. It is also important where the weekly time allocation for a course is restricted.

TIME ALLOCATION

Time allocation and course intensity are highly significant in determining the outcome of language programmes. Carroll [1967:202, 205] found that the level of language skill attained was largely dependent on the amount of time devoted to L_2 study [cf. Carroll 1963a; 1975:265]. The U.S. Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies [1973] correlates time with proficiency and estimates that average students in intensive (30 hour a week) courses require about 480 hours of instruction to progress from S-2 to S-3. Van Passel [1974:85] also stresses the importance of the amount of time spent in studying the language and urges that students spend time outside their formal course in reading, working exercises, listening to the radio, and having varied experiences of the language. A community involvement approach to advanced language teaching extends the time in which the language is experienced, even into leisure activities [see pp. 584-586].

In the approach to advanced language teaching being developed here, it is not possible to allot in advance a specified amount of in-class time to each component because emphasis falls on responding to need. Rather, the teacher must oversee the course to ensure balanced development towards each individual's specified goals. Activities involving use of the language must receive the greatest time allocation though, in class, formal activities, function-teaching and culture learning (including the teaching of another subject) may assume greater weighting than in the overall balance of the course provided that sufficient time is available to ensure considerable out-of-class language use.

Intensity of the course is equally important in determining proficiency reached. This is particularly so because language learning necessarily involves a large memory load and more intensive courses allow less time for forgetting [cf. Strevens 1965:2-3]. In addition, learners at each stage have expectations of their course (e.g., at tertiary level, that the language will rapidly become useful as a tool for other studies); consequently, unintensive courses that delay the fulfilment of these expectations are demotivating and militate against success. Alternatives to the usual, unintensive advanced courses are required, desirably with much language experience and teaching being crowded into a few weeks [cf. Wainwright 1970; Lott 1975; Hindmarsh 1975]. Current timetabling practices make this unlikely but community involvement can increase course intensity by including L_2 experience in leisure activities such as excursions, reading, radio, television and films, library-mode language laboratory use, and social activities.

Nevertheless, other factors beside time and intensity are important [cf. Chapters Four and Five] and Carroll [1967:156-159] found that the kind of exposure to the language was significantly more important than actual time allotted. If advanced language teaching is to be made more effective, due consideration must also be given to methods.

METHODS

It is not proposed to provide here a detailed justification of the methods to be discussed since that is implicit in the preceding chapters. Rather, the purpose is to show how the theoretical discussions can be interpreted into practice. Two basic guiding principles emerged [p. 522] which, in method terms, may be expressed as (i) the learner must be actively and purposefully involved; (ii) he must have freedom to learn naturally and in his own way; and (iii) he must interact as frequently and naturally as possible with speakers of the L_2.

These principles provide more freedom for methodology in advanced courses than found in traditional courses based on prose translation and the exposition of grammar or in audiolingual courses dominated by drills. The principle of focussing on the purposeful use of the language in activities of importance to the learner permits the content and activities which carry that "use" to be made more relevant to the learner's needs and interests without detracting from the course's language learning value. It can also ensure that practice is given in those acts in which the learner will ultimately use the language instead of in formal "academic" situations in the hope that the language knowledge gained will transfer to real-life situations; that is, the student learns what he does and the advanced programme should be designed to ensure that the learning situations are as similar as possible to those in which the language will be used [cf. Wilkins 1974:78; Savignon 1972:66].

FOCUS ON USE

Methods that focus on use of the language are justified largely by the "learn through use" and "focus out" learning strategies [Chapter Four, pp. 321-325, 328-331]. One corollary is the desirability of using the L_2 during classes (and elsewhere) as much as possible. Carroll's study [1967a:200, 202-203] found that students whose teachers used the language in class progressed significantly better [cf. Carroll 1963:1092]. "Learning through use" is also catered for in programmes that encourage use of the language out of class hours (e.g., in *soirées* and other leisure and social events, excursions, interviews, employment, and extra-curricular activities). Carroll [1967a:137, 141, 203-205] found that this sort of activity, which appeared in his survey as the use of the L_2 in the home and employment, correlated with superior performance.

Although experience of using the language can be gained in interdisciplinary, subject-oriented learning [see pp. 547 - 551], it must occur outside the classroom also so that the L_2 is seen as an instrument by which the individual can control his environment [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 485 - 487]. This experience can come to some extent in social activities but it should also occur in more complex and planned activities. Students can use the L_2 to get things done in, for example, organizing and running a language "club", arranging appointments for "community involvement" activities, writing business and official letters (to organize club activities, order materials from the C_2, or make travel arrangements), and in part-time employment such as child-minding for native speaking families in the ethnic community. It is particularly desirable that the language be used in everyday life and Van Passel [1974: 26] refers to the U.S. Army's Specialized Training Program in which the recruits lived together or entered families to use the language. Such everyday experience has too often been rejected as impractical in advanced language teaching and yet it is readily provided in travel abroad, in residential colleges, in week-end language camps such as are common for students and teachers in Australia, and through week-ends or vacations spent with native speaking families in the community.

Such activities must not be considered ancillary but as learning activities that contribute to an integrated and coherent total course [see pp. 576 - 651]; they are the activities through which, with the support of more formal activities discussed later, the language is learned. They are designed, in effect, to mobilize the natural learning strategies [see Chapter Four] and to cater for attitudinal needs [see Chapter Five]. In them, language is learned through its use, it is used as a tool to achieve various ends (particularly ones selected by the learner), and it becomes a means to gain knowledge and understanding.

The types of activities recommended so far involve "informal" language learning and emphasize the "natural" processes and spontaneous language use. Formal methods contribute differently, serving the monitoring process and providing data for the natural processes to work on [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363 - 366]. They may include the discussion of syntactic rules, language variation, functions, the working of traditional language exercises, or language laboratory drills. However, such activities have very definite limitations, not least of which is the inhibiting effect of conscious attention to the language; they must be followed up by less controlled use of the items studied in more spontaneous, learner-initiated utterances in classroom and other communication activities. This will assist the learner to recall the items subsequently and, in behaviouristic terms, to habitualize the application of the rules learned [cf. Carroll 1971a; 1973:359].

If language is to be learned as a tool or a means [Chapter Four, pp. 328-331], the focus for the student must fall on the ends or purposes he wants to achieve. For the course designer and teacher, the task is to ensure that the overall aim of developing language proficiency is translated for the learner into a series of task-oriented goals in, for example, activities of the type already mentioned. In other words, the task is to provide the framework within which the student, with the teacher's guidance, may set up a series of goals to be achieved through the language. In this way, learning is promoted [Chapter Four, pp. 328-331, 334-337] and the language, fulfilling functions within a social context, acquires meaning [cf. Halliday 1975:14-15; Chapter Four, pp. 334-341].

However, if the purposes or goals are to be significant, relevant to the learner and motivating, they must respond to some interest or need that he has. Social activities, translatable into successive conversational encounters with other people, answer important personality needs of the learner and can be used to encourage language learning through language use [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 487-501; Chapter Six, pp. 577-588]. Another way in which a real need for the L_2 and purposes for its use can be created in the classroom is by associating the L_2 with other subjects, in particular, by teaching another subject in the language.

TEACHING OTHER SUBJECTS THROUGH THE L_2. Teaching another subject in the L_2 ensures its meaningful use, turns the focus of attention from the language to communication and makes it a tool or a means to some other end. Such approaches have been shown to enhance L_2 learning [cf. Tucker,1974:4; UNESCO 1976:6; Chapter Four, pp. 328 - 334] and seem to better match students' expectations since those who listed FL's as important in the Schools Council Sixth Form Survey [1970, 1970a] gave as one of their reasons the language's aid in other subjects. On the other hand, approaches that postpone use until after the language has been "learned" (as in pre-sessional remedial courses for university entrants) have been notably unsuccessful [e.g., Moller 1975, Davies 1975].

The *section bilingue* provides one approach in which geography or some other subject is taught as a component of the language course [e.g., A. King 1975, B. King 1974] and the various interdisciplinary approaches [e.g., Chapter Three, pp. 210 - 229] also make the language a tool for other academic purposes. In a language course, if the other subject is chosen carefully, it can be productive of many other integrating activities that provide opportunities to use the L_2 and involve the learner in the community. Thus, for example, social studies gives the opportunity for excursions, visits to businesses and restaurants run by speakers of the language, discussions on current affairs, and projects that require information to be sought from native speakers or library resources. In a Teachers' College, students can be asked to teach geography lessons to the class on the C_2 or their home regions, especially if they themselves are being trained to use methods like those in this thesis. The *section bilingue* integrates with community involvement activities by providing the vocabulary needed to show new migrants or visitors around the town or to discuss everyday events with them. In addition, such subjects can broaden the culture teaching of the language course and provide the learner with an opportunity to re-think his C_1 experience in terms of the L_2 [cf. pp. 638-642, 644-646; Chapter Four, pp. 426-431]. Included in this aspect of the language programme can be the discussion of race relations and other attitudinal issues [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 502-508; Williams 1970:76].

Nevertheless, until the student's general proficiency approaches S-3, R-3, it is unlikely to be sufficient to enable him to achieve as well academically in the *section bilingue* as if he were working in his L_1. In most interdisciplinary courses (e.g., "area" studies [cf. Chapter Three, pp. 224 -225]), the L_2 has a support role giving access to additional resources and so it exerts fewer constraints on academic development; rather, the contrary occurs as the availability of original sources stimulates academic thought and understanding. The *section bilingue* aims at language learning and attitude development, at learning through use, promoting community involvement, broadening cultural teaching [cf. Rivers 1973:3], and re-structuring the learner's model of the world. Gouin [1892:102-103] is pertinent, wanting the learner to have a new "personal conception" of one part of reality rather than go too deeply and Cooper [1974:2] observes that such courses are, initially, particularly concerned to teach the "mental strategies" or language functions appropriate to that field of study.

Such approaches seem to accord, as Walker found [1973:105], with many students' desire for the teaching of other subjects in the L_2. Though they lack the time and intensity, they partially capture the other advantages of immersion programmes. The latter have proved particularly successful in promoting the L_2 proficiency of young children (especially in listening though less in accuracy) without harming other (including content) learning [cf. Barik and Swain 1975; Swain 1974:122-126]. Similarly, with older students, Romanis [1973:34] found that *sections* *bilingues* in France produced strikingly good results in both receptive and productive skills. Probably, also, using the L_2 while learning about another subject area will promote the ability to think in the language and to use it creatively and imaginatively [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 152 -154; Chapter Four, pp. 341-347, 426-431; Dulay and Burt 1975:32].

One effect of seeing the language as a tool is to turn language study from a largely specialist activity into a service activity. This changes (or, at least, diversifies) the nature and objectives of the courses to be offered and broadens the range of students to whom it is relevant. Some British courses have changed in this way [e.g., Chapter Three, pp. 210 -229] but it is uncertain that the actual methods of teaching (and certainly not testing), have been affected. Tertiary language teachers still seem reluctant to accept that language study is a non-specialist activity, that it is not downgraded by not being an end in itself [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 184-188; Chapter Three, pp. 203 -205, 226 -229, 230-237]. Unless all the implications of the "language as tool" notion are worked out through objectives, methods and assessment, language learning must continue to seem irrelevant to many students and proficiency levels will remain unduly low because the most efficient learning strategies are not being mobilized and because the language is not functionally meaningful, i.e., it is not being learned as a viable tool for communication.

FOCUS ON COMMUNICATION

Communication involves self-expression, the initiating of utterances formed by freely selecting amongst one's language repertoire (including resources for phatic communication) to express one's own ideas, to convey new information, or to establish relationships and roles [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 325-328, 337-341]. It is trivialized where the "information" exchanged is already known to both speaker and listener or where, as in pattern drills and "prose" translations, the information content and its transmission to an audience are of negligible significance compared with the mechanical practice given. Gouin, a century ago, caricatured such language use:

> *Now, all these books offer, in reality, nothing but a hideous confusion, a frightful muddle, worse even than the fortuitous sequence of the dictionary. - 'Have you a hat?' - 'Yes, I have a hat.' 'Have you a table?' - 'Yes, I have a table.' 'What knife have you, that of the Englishman or that of the Spaniards?' - 'No, I have the basket of a Jew.'* [Gouin 1892:90]

Mere inert ideas, inert knowledge or inert language that is not available for integration with other knowledge or for creative use must be avoided. The emphasis, particularly at the advanced level where the learner already has a sizeable store of language knowledge to call on, should move from accumulating more "microsegments" to macrolanguage use in which something is being communicated to someone else. It is this concept which Rivers [1975] seems to mean when she stresses cooperative learning.

We saw earlier [Chapter Four, pp.331 -334] that attempting to communicate is an important macro-strategy for L_1 and L_2 learners. In addition, focussing L_2 learning around communication can help the learner (especially if the teacher asks suitable questions) to reason in the L_2, to develop his ideas, and to master those lexical and syntactic devices that mark thought development [see pp. 619 -622]. Communication activities turn the learner's attention from his language to his listeners and how to get his ideas across to them. In particular, they encourage him to attend to those aspects of language use which he attends to in similar circumstances with his L_1, viz., clarification of his ideas and values, clarity of expression, coherence, and appropriate register modulation. It makes his criterion for success in using the language not so much its conformity to rules as the extent to which he gets his meaning across. He focusses, in other words, on the content and its transmission.

Interactive experiences that can promote this include formal and informal discussions and debates, (attitudinal issues can be included [cf. pp. 646 -648]), giving directions (e.g., around the university or district, using maps, in the *jeu des rondelles*, or in transmitting designs or pictures), story-telling, reports on "community involvement" experiences, and general classroom conversation. However, the topics discussed, the freedom granted for the expression of ideas, the tolerance of errors, and the relationships within the classroom must permit the conversation to rise above the superficiality of much classroom "conversation". It is better for the teacher not to intervene any more than is essential to overcome communication problems since to do so cuts short the learner's grappling with the task of communication. It is this task which motivates him (in particular by hinging self-expression, self-esteem and his social role on the success of his communication act [cf. Savignon 1972:3]), gives him feedback on the adequacy of his expression, creates the need for languages, and stimulates his learning processes. The learner's attention may be brought to bear on the adequacy or otherwise of his communication by having him record what he says when talking to others or in a monologue and, somewhat later, replaying it to himself in the language laboratory. This lets him provide his own feedback (instead of being conscious of the teacher's "snooping" for his faults) and encourages him to seek ways to improve his expression [cf. Loban 1966:92]. It sensitizes him to language elements, discourse structure and functions and encourages him to mobilize his language knowledge to meet his own communication needs and self-expression.

The question of errors is relevant to communication since, if the learner's interlanguage is accepted in the same way as a child's non-standard forms, the communication process can proceed and at a mature level of content [cf. James 1972; Richards 1972:183]. Thus, the range of activities the learner can indulge in can be expanded and he can take the initiative for producing language (instead of being restricted to using memorized utterances controlled for correctness). In this way, his learning processes are stimulated and the need (and, hence, motivation) is created, to which language acquisition is the response [cf. Corder 1975; Chapter Four, pp. 432 -434]. It also ensures that communication and its progressive development remain central throughout L_2 learning and, if it occurs in a real-life situation, it ensures that the learner realizes that he can communicate in the L_2, gives him the confidence to use the language that comes from that realization, and teaches him that communication is more important than the arduous non-communicating production of "correct" sentences. Advanced language teaching has, too often, been error-based and dependent (e.g., in prose work) on the student's making errors, being corrected long after the communicative import (if there was any) has subsided, and being penalized.

However, the learner must accept the value of communication or the persistence of errors may, nevertheless, be demotivating especially for learners who have followed traditional courses at lower levels.

Clearly, it is important in methodology that ways be found of creating programmes and situations which promote communication, i.e., which put the learner into a situation where he must, and wants, to use the language for some purpose, and is obliged to rapidly puzzle out how to convey his meaning and make himself understood. Interdisciplinary studies, language games, and classroom conversation focussing on content rather than form are useful. However, it is undoubtedly essential to go out of the classroom (where an almost inevitable tendency exists to concentrate on the formal properties of the language [cf. Corder 1975]), into community involvement situations [see pp. 577-588] where more informal and less stylized, inter-personal relationships operate, where there is more contextual support from the environment and paralinguistic features [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 366-377; Halliday 1974:15], and where the learner is freer to concentrate on communicative qualities [cf. Ingram 1974]. By integrating both in-class and out-of-class activities in the same course, both linguistic competence (characteristically developed in the classroom) and communicative competence (more readily developed out of the classroom) can be developed [cf. Savignon 1972:17].

Savignon [1972] and Tucker [1974] very well sum up the criteria that the teacher must take into account in planning communication-based language learning:

> *With all the dialogs, choral drills and patterned response there has been no time left for that which only the human teacher can provide, communication. And the human teacher knows, if you ask him, that communication is not the rapid-fire exchange of linguistically accurate complete sentences. It is the sometimes slow, sometimes painful, sometimes non-verbal exchange of thoughts between human beings.* [Savignon 1972:66]

And

> *...students most effectively acquire a second language when the task of language learning becomes incidental to the task of communicating with someone about something which is inherently interesting to the student.* [Tucker 1974:7]

Clearly, focus on communication puts emphasis on the learner's using the language in response to his own communicative need, i.e., the learner becomes the centre of the teaching-learning process.

FOCUS ON THE LEARNER WITH ACTIVE LEARNING METHODS

The effect of the discussion of language learning in this thesis is to make the learner central and to have him actively involved using the language for communication. The teacher's role is to structure situations that promote the student's learning, to ensure he has continual opportunities to actively use the language, and to remove any impediments to his learning (whether they be situational, attitudinal, or the result of inappropriate learning methods or expectations acquired in earlier courses). This contrasts with what was, traditionally, the teacher's principal concern, viz., how to present discrete rules and lexis to a largely passive learner and how to control his utterances to avoid errors.

Through this thesis, it has continually been emphasized that the language programme must be made relevant to the learner. It will be, basically, if it mobilizes his natural learning strategies, if its syntactic schedule matches his own developmental schedule and his stage in it, and if the language and skills acquired respond to those needs which arise from his non-ephemeral interests, from his personal qualities (including his aptitude), from his vocational expectations, and from the society in which he lives.

In learner-centred instruction, it is not necessarily possible to set the same objectives for all learners or have them working on the same items simultaneously [cf. Capelle 1973:8]. We noted earlier [Chapter Four, pp. 412-421, 423-426, 432-434], the desirability of learners' selecting the grammar to work on by introspecting their own language needs. Equally, if the skills acquired are to be relevant to each learner, he must be able to select for development those registers and functions that meet his needs. This can be done by providing considerable freedom of choice in the reading programme and by allowing the learners to follow their own interests in the community involvement activities [see pp. 566 -573].

In brief, the approach recommended in this thesis is designed to maximize the relevance of the language programme to the learner and to make the most of his contribution to the learning process. The teacher's task will be to give the learner access to a rich and varied language environment and to remove any impediments to his attaining the two goals of satisfactory language proficiency and favourable cross-cultural attitudes. It may, for example, involve him in arranging other community involvement experiences if one proves unrewarding or to involve an unduly negative experience of the other cultural group. His role is thus that of a facilitator rather than a transmitter of knowledge, *per se*.

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Just as learning must be centred on the learner, so the L_2 must be centred in a social, environmental and pragmatic context to be a real language and to be learnable [cf. Halliday 1975:134; see also Chapter Four, pp. 366 -377; Chapter Five, pp. 436-438, 475-485]. Halliday states :

> *We do not experience language in isolation - if we did we would not recognize it as language - but always in relation to a scenario, some background of persons and actions and events from which the things which are said derive their meanings.* [Halliday 1974:28]

The nature of the language (its vocabulary, structures, complexity, suprasegmental and other features) is, to differing degrees, influenced by the situation. Using language involves selecting amongst the repertoire what is appropriate to the situation [cf. Newmark 1965]. Therefore, language must be learned and practised in a natural situation so that its contextual appropriateness is learned and the student practises mobilizing language to match the situation and his purpose.

Contextualization may result from placing items to be taught in a verbal context that also suggests a physical context for the language, from language games that use supporting materials (e.g., maps, cards, counters), from role play, dramatisation and simulation exercises, and, particularly, from community involvement activities [pp. 577-588]. The visual media (films, television and slides) provide many opportunities to contextualize language experience. Films that favour the learner's identification with a character (such as the Mary Glasgow-Thames Television series on a youth visiting a French village for the first time) can give the learner particularly vivid surrogate experience of contextualized language. The nearer the situations are to real life, the more satisfactory the contextualization is and the readier the transfer to real life is likely to be. In addition, language normally exists in a context of purpose as functions which items are mobilized to fulfil [cf. Halliday 1974:9]. When the L_2 is practised, it should occur in such contexts and we saw earlier some ways in which functional contextualization may occur [pp. 543-558].

More traditional approaches to advanced language teaching which subjugated meaning to practice of formal aspects of the language (whether in drills or proses), decontextualized it. Community involvement, however, lets the learner perceive the L_2 as relevant to the real world and overcomes the paralysing restriction to the classroom produced by conventional methods. It also contextualizes the language in its total social role especially as a means of making the society work and of effecting attitude change in the society [see pp. 576-648; Chapter Five]. Interdisciplinary studies also provide functional contextualization and relate the L_2 to a wider context of knowledge (and, hence, meaning).

WIDE, DIVERSE EXPERIENCE

Each item in the language has meaning only in relation to other items and to the culture which it expresses and from which it derives its meaning. In other words, if a language or an item of the language is to be meaningful, it must be experienced within the context of a broad cross-section of the language and its culture, i.e, the learner requires wide, diverse experience of the functioning language [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 348-350]. Such experience also increases the learner's chances of meeting items which would otherwise be omitted from a finite formal course and it increases the frequency with which an item is experienced, so facilitating its later mobilization.

Wide, diverse experience of the language and culture is particularly desirable for the advanced learner. He needs to be able to use the language wherever his interests take him. He has a certain language repertoire to support him but he must also learn to cope with uncontrolled native speaker language using a wide choice of lexis and syntax, ellipsis, mazes, colloquialisms, and many phonological variations. For this, he must acquire the ability to utilize the redundancy of the language, the non-verbal features, the context, his model of the world, and what language he has in order to assist comprehension. He can acquire this ability only by being plunged into natural language experience though the teacher may ease him into it with experiences where the visual context provides additional support (e.g., in films designed for foreign speakers where redundancy is increased; in discussions during excursions or in showing slides or planning routes on maps when the teacher can overtly draw attention to supportive visual features as he speaks).

The teaching problems associated with "general" experience were referred to in Chapter One in the course of discussing the nature of "general proficiency" [Chapter One, pp. 6 -38]. Some selection of registers and situations in which the language is to be experienced must be made if only because the teacher must select something to present. The desirable bases for that selection would seem to be (1) material from the everyday experience of native speakers in the C_2 or in that part of it (e.g., urban or rural) of most relevance to the learners; (2) material relevant to life in the ethnic community; and (3) material involving registers relevant to the particular learner's interests (e.g., tourism, science, education). In all of these categories, the material chosen should provide experience with the situations, functions, and language elements that occur.

MOBILIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

By the time he reaches the advanced level, the student has already experienced a great deal of the language including several thousand lexical items and at least the basic syntactic framework. Yet the Examiners' Reports [Chapter Two, pp. 72 - 154] reveal that much of that knowledge is not available for production even though, according to Penfield [1953: 79-80], none of it is lost. Hence, it is desirable that advanced courses give considerable attention to activities designed to increase the learner's ability to mobilize his knowledge. If Watson's principles of frequency and recency are valid [Hill 1963:37; cf. Beanblossom 1970:11], the learner needs experiences that let him read, see or produce each item frequently. Hence, wide and diverse experience (especially in extensive reading and listening) is desirable to increase the frequency of occurrence of any particular item.

Some deliberate selection occurs as one seeks the words and structures to express what one wishes to communicate [cf. Torrey 1971:232]. This involves clarifying the idea to be expressed and then seeking the appropriate means to convey it. Practice in expressing one's own ideas will develop this ability and can be gained in general discussion especially in community involvement activities and the activities discussed under "conscientization" [Chapter Five, pp. 502 -508; Chapter Six, pp. 646-648]. Carroll [1973: 359] has noted that retrieving an item tends to put it into long-term memory and he stresses the value of the learner's active retrieval as he initiates utterances using such items. In addition, we observed in discussing language functions [Chapter Four, pp. 377 - 383], that the major difficulty for advanced learners seems to be mobilizing knowledge in the sense of knowing how to apply it and function-based courses have been observed to be particularly successful [cf. Cowie and Heaton 1977]. In other words, when the learner knows how to go about achieving a task, retrieval is facilitated. A similar effect is noted when the inhibitions resulting from over-concern for formal accuracy and the conscious observance of rules is replaced by confidence in his ability to communicate [cf. Chapter One, pp. 28 - 30; Chapter Four, pp. 331-334; Chapter Five, pp. 485-486].

Association is a fundamental law in memory [cf. de Sauzé 1959:9] and the more associations that are established with an item the more readily it is recalled [cf. Miller 1962:188-189]. Thus, mobilization of language is likely to be facilitated the more diverse and meaningful the learner's experience of each item is and the more vividly it is associated with concrete experience. Gouin's "series" [1892] associated the language with related activities or items by, for example, learning together the language for the various activities of a mill or the language to describe moving to and opening a door. His approach places each item within a semantic field so that it has links or associations with many other items both verbal and, if the item is experienced and practised situationally, non-verbal. The view implicit here is that recall and mobilization of an item are easier the more links it has with other items and objects with which it forms a systematic conceptual framework and which provide links by which to recall it. This view strengthens the claim that language learning must be taken out of the experientially impoverished classroom into the community and particularly into the situations where it is to be used and where each item will develop the matrix of associations on which its recall and mobilization will depend during natural language use. In addition, in such situations, physical arousal will be greater and retention is then more probable [cf. Lee et al. 1970].

A related problem is short-term memory and the advanced learner's apparent need to expand it. It is reflected in matriculants' weaknesses in using the devices of discourse and cohesion [Chapter Two, pp. 109-114] as if they forget one part of an utterance before the related part occurs, causing, for example, subject-verb agreement lapses or inappropriate pronominalization. An alternative explanation is suggested by Olson [cited in Clark 1974:9], who argues against viewing memory span as a receptacle to be expanded and says the apparent increase in size results from more efficient organization of information [cf. Smith 1975:71]. This view correlates with the other syntactic (hence, organizational) difficulties noted in Chapter Two and with the explanation given for the difficulty that many learners have in following a line of argument marked by discourse features [see Chapter Two, pp. 109-114; Ingram 1976:6]. Rather than short-term memory capacity being limited, it seems to be overloaded by the learner's greater attention to more features (e.g., sound, meaning, syntactic function, discourse implications, and cohesive features) until he can organize the information more efficiently [cf. Elias and Ingram 1977:Chapter Three; Smith 1975:70-73]. In comprehension, this means he uses more of his own resources to impose structure and meaning [cf. Chapter One, pp. 25 - 28], to chunk rather than operate at word level, and he is less reliant on detailed information from the text. In production, he spontaneously uses the linking devices to make his text cohere and to mark semantic relationships. Exercises focussing on the cohesion and discourse markers are needed to foreground their relational functions for the learner [see pp. 619-622]. Similarly, more efficient organization and use of the linguistic signal can be developed by exercises which encourage the learner to hold information in memory while he matches it against subsequent information predicted by a relational feature. The result is an apparent expansion of short-term memory and an increase in the complexity of the utterances a learner can handle [see pp. 606-608].

INDIVIDUALIZATION

We have noted several times the desirability of individualization of objectives and methods in advanced courses to cater for individual needs, differing stages in the learning schedule, differing levels of proficiency, and differences in learning styles [pp. 556-558; Chapter Four, pp. 412-421, 423-426; Chapter Two, pp. 154-159].

Surveying language classes in American tertiary institutions, Valette [1976a] noted that, in an era of declining FL enrolments, those departments that had individualized their programmes had maintained their numbers while Walker [1973:105], in a survey gauging student opinion on how their language courses could be improved, found students advocating a contract system of teaching. This suggests that student attitudes to language study may be improved by individualization and, in fact, Von Elek [1975; 1975a:6] found that students in an individualized programme "took a definitely more positive attitude" towards it even though their proficiency levels were no higher than for students in other programmes. Rivers [1973:5-6] partly explains the favourable effect on attitudes by saying that individualization capitalizes on a "permanent 'Hawthorne effect'" since it enables the students to "do their own thing".

Nevertheless, as Burstall found [1974:244], no method is equally appropriate for all students and, while this strengthens the case for individualization on the one hand, on the other it suggests that individualization may itself not be suitable for or liked by all students. Von Elek [1975a:8] refers to students in his individualized programme who disliked the impersonality of the situation though, in the approach discussed in this thesis where individualized formal learning plays only a support role in a programme emphasizing interaction, this criticism is less relevant. In a partially individualized programme, the present writer found that First Year College students who came with expectations generated by rigid, traditional or audiolingual methods in Secondary School had some initial difficulty settling into less directed programmes and felt they were "wasting time" if they were not memorizing rules and vocabulary lists and doing translations. McKeachie [1963:158] cites a number of studies to show that certain types of student (those who are more flexible, independent and have had prior experience of independent methods) were more likely to do well in individualized, "permissive", or self-directed programmes; those who, by personality, were insecure or less independent were less likely to approve or profit from such programmes. Gage [1963:1161] found that students "high on a variable akin to authoritarianism" did best in a homogeneous group.

Clearly, a teacher must use discretion in introducing an individualized programme and provide considerable support to some students: individualization, in the sense of planning and implementing a programme that responds to each learner's needs, may, for some students, mean that a teacher-directed, lecture-type course is needed. However, the comments made earlier on the need for advanced courses to teach students how to learn independently remain valid and justify individualization even if some students dislike it [p.539]. Similarly, with those students whose expectations have been created by a rigid Secondary School system, more perseverance with an individualized approach may be desirable as a way of teaching them how to learn more efficiently. Whenever antagonisms to individualized programmes emerge, the reasons for adopting the approach should be made clear to the students.

It is not necessary to spell out here all the possible ways of individualizing language study. Common approaches (mainly concerned with the learning of syntax, lexis and pronunciation) have been frequently discussed [e.g., Valette 1976a; Valette and Disick 1972; Logan 1973; Altman 1972; Altman and Politzer 1971; Gougher 1972]. In the approach recommended in this thesis, individualization, in the sense of self-direction and self-selection of activities and objectives, can take place in most of the components. The overall goals of developing language proficiency and favourable attitudes are not open to choice though the areas in which proficiency will be most fully developed will vary depending on the advanced student's needs, interests and vocational intentions. They may be affected also by the type and level of skills he has in his L_1 since there is likely to be some correlation between these and those he can aspire to in the L_2 and this may lead to differential, developmental objectives in the L_2 [cf. James and Rouve 1973:11]. The precise nature of the learning activities chosen will vary but the teacher must ensure that the learning strategies discussed in Chapters Four and Five are catered for while recognizing also that, by the advanced stage, at least the more successful learners will have developed preferred learning styles of their own [cf. Delattre 1947:247; Lee 1970].

Community involvement allows students more freedom to choose the people with whom they will interact, the contexts in which this will occur, the directions their interviews, conversations and questions will take, the interests they will pursue, the functions that will be involved, and the form that follow-up activities (e.g., reports, social events, formal learning) will take. The reading programme also permits differential selection of registers for development since the emphasis falls on the student's selection and rapid reading of numerous (possibly controlled-vocabulary) texts appropriate to his own interests. Throughout the programme, the teacher's role is to ensure that balanced development occurs through a judicious selection of activities and materials and by recommending formal learning experiences where they are needed. This can be illustrated in the approach to grammar learning [see pp. 589-608] though it is also relevant to other features (e.g., functions and phonology). In every case, the general principle is to focus course design and methodology on the learner and to devise approaches that allow him to utilize the learning strategies best suited to him.

Most of the individualized formal learning should be in response to felt need [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 432-434]. That is, in the course of the various activities in which the language is used, the learner will become conscious of deficiencies in his language. These deficiencies create learning needs which the learner, in consultation with his teacher, can solve by selecting formal learning activities. Thus, how viable individualization is depends on the feasibility of self-direction.

Self-direction depends on the learner's being able to identify areas of the language where he is deficient. Advanced learners, who have studied the Secondary School syllabus, have already "covered" much of the grammar of the language and this source of reference will assist him to recognize areas requiring formal study. In addition, the course proposals made here ensure that he has much receptive experience of the language and this provides him with information on his areas of need. There is, furthermore, considerable evidence that learners are sensitive to their deficiencies. Swain [1975] commented on how L_2

learners even as young as Grades One or Two "know what they don't know" and avoid those rules, a phenomenon that most teachers and students can confirm anecdotally or from introspection. Schachter [1974] provides similar evidence and, like Swain, comments on the difficulties it poses for the psycholinguist seeking data for error analysis. Similarly, David Richards observed in his studies at the University of Essex that learners seemed aware of their lack of a certain structure just prior to its emergence in their language [personal communication, 1975]. Tran-Thi-Chau [1975] found learners' perception of difficulty provided a better device for determining problem areas than either error or contrastive analysis. Thus, self-direction does seem to be possible.

An individualized programme of formal learning determined by feedback from the student's general productive and receptive experience would seem to tap learning readiness more effectively than a lock-step programme more or less arbitrarily determined by the teacher or course writer. The syntax which emerges for attention will be that next in line in the learner's developmental schedule [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 412-421] or that which the phenomenon of "rule instability" [Kessler 1971:92, 98] produces. The teacher's role will be to assist the learner in identifying the areas he needs to work on, then directing him to the appropriate activities, and reassuring the less confident students that they are doing the right thing. The "contract" system can provide a means of ensuring the learner works to capacity during each individualized session and a register of what he does in each session can give him an overall sense of direction, coherence, and achievement [cf. pp. 567-568].

A further role for individualization is in encouraging the learner to extend his language experience beyond the formal course. Time limitation has already been seen to be a major factor in constraining proficiency level attained [pp. 540-542] and it is essential at the advanced level for the learner to be encouraged (overtly and through the course design) to show initiative in reading much, in selecting books and other material to read for information and enjoyment, in meeting native speakers in the multicultural society, in listening to the radio, and in various other out-of-class activities. The language laboratory provides another means for individualization.

THE LANGUAGE LABORATORY

The language laboratory has been subjected to considerable research [e.g., Smith 1970; Green 1975; Von Elek 1975; Savignon 1972; Carroll 1967a], much of it controversial [cf. Carroll 1969; E. Ingram 1972], but it is not proposed to debate the issues again here. Rather, some of its positive contributions to advanced language learning will be indicated.

The language laboratory assists with any learning that is repetitive or involves rote memory (e.g., drill, drama, songs) and it probably has a place in habitualizing the application of formally learned grammatical rules [cf. Carroll 1971] though some research questions its effectiveness even here [e.g., Savignon 1972:18; Carroll 1967a:137, 202-3]. Its greatest value is to let each student work at his own rate as he listens to or works on data that will give him experience of the language in general or of specific functions, registers, lexis or syntax. In this, it caters for the cerebration microstrategy [see Chapter Four, pp. 389-391]. It can also enable the student to work on such original sources as the "Orléans" materials as a part of cultural and language studies. He might, for example, use this material to find out how to use a telephone, to establish the views on education of people in differing socio-economic groups, or as interesting, general language experience. This can, of course, be done in whole-class groups with a tape recorder but an audio-active-comparative language laboratory lets the learner replay segments for more careful examination. In all, its most valuable use is to enable the members of a class to work simultaneously on a variety of data and to make maximum use of listening as a learning strategy [see Chapter Four, pp. 351 - 355].

Language laboratory work is not inevitably passive (e.g., the student might use it with the "Orléans" material for sociological research). However, for grammatical learning, it is difficult to avoid passivity and cater for the learner's need to initiate language [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 318 - 325, 325 - 328, 337 - 341]. One useful attempt to do so is Folomkina's [1975] function-based drills in which the learner responds to an utterance by performing specified tasks (e.g., refute, agree, query) but the variety of possible responses makes the feedback or self-correction that a lab. traditionally provides less feasible.

We saw earlier ways in which a lab. may be used to provide the learner with feedback on the efficacy of his own communication attempts [pp. 551-556]. However, in using a lab., a learner is essentially talking to a machine and communication, as such, does not occur. Quinn's warning on pattern drills is relevant:

> *Practice for the sake of practice is most undesirable. Practice that is not rooted in communicative function is a most serious aberration, for it is, quite simply, not human language. Practice divorced from communicative need represents a trivialization of language, of the linguistic encounter, of the interpersonal relationship...* [Quinn 1974:6-7]

The problem for the course designer, as for the teacher, is to find ways of providing language experience and language practice without trivializing the language. The methods discussed in this chapter focus on the learner's meaningful and purposeful use of the language in communication and, thereby, attempt to respond to his real learning needs and ensure that the language is used realistically. It is now necessary to consider how this general methodology might be exemplified in the components of a course.

COURSE COMPONENTS

From the discussion so far, it is clear that, at least in the early semesters of an advanced course, it will be necessary to have a variety of activities or course components in order to provide wide and varied experience of the language [cf. pp. 560 -562] and, in particular, to encourage the learner to use it a great deal. The only exception to this may be in "special purpose" courses where general proficiency may be subordinated to higher proficiency (and, hence, considerable experience) in a relatively narrow range of registers or contexts [but note Chapter One, pp. 14 - 15 , 33 - 38].

In planning a course, the problem is to find a principle around which it may be integrated [cf. pp. 534 -539]. We have already seen that, in a multicultural society at least, "community involvement" can play such a role [cf. pp. 535-536].

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

"Community involvement" plays an integral and integrating role in the approach to L_2 teaching in the multicultural society discussed in this thesis. The term "community involvement" has been used throughout with a certain ambiguity. "Community" refers at times to the "ethnic community" and, more particularly, to the native speakers of the L_2 in the multicultural society. In some cases (like the Greeks and Italians in Australia), these people form recognizable groups, are identified with particular districts, and have their own organizations. In other cases (e.g., the French in Australia), they are less numerous, more scattered, and less organized. "Community" is also used in a more general sense to refer to the environment surrounding the educational institution, i.e., the geographical environment as well as the society with its various infrastructures. In most cases where it is necessary, the context of the discussion resolves the ambiguity while elsewhere (but especially when language development is being considered), the ambiguity is useful because it makes for greater conciseness. The following discussion will clarify the distinction and will show that the two forms of community involvement suggest different, but mutually supporting, learning activities.

The justification for community involvement has already been considered at some length particularly in terms of the learner's active role [Chapter Four, pp. 318-347], contextualization of the language [Chapter Four, pp. 366-377], interaction for attitude change [Chapter Five, pp. 464-475], personality development [Chapter Five, pp.487-501], and general methodology [pp. 542-576]. We have seen that wide experience of the language is particularly important in this approach to language teaching [pp. 560-562, 588-643] and the interaction with native speakers that community involvement provides ensures the authenticity of the data the learner experiences. There is also evidence that using the language in out-of-class activities in everyday life enhances language development [see Chapter Four, pp. 321-325, 366-377]. The U.S. Army programme during World War II involved the learners' living together and using the language [e.g., Van Passel 1974:26] and Carroll [1967a:141] noted how learners who used the language even occasionally at home, in recreation, or in employment, showed highly significant differences in attainment levels; community involvement provides comparable situations for all students and ensures that the language is seen as an instrument for use in the real world and not just as an artifact for use in the classroom. As for culture and civilisation, each community involvement activity occurs in an L_2 micro-environment.

Motivation to learn is also significantly increased, first, because the learner is using the language for purposes that are pleasurable, significant to himself, and largely of his own choosing. Second, it places on the L_2 the same importance in establishing the learner's social role identity and relationship to others that his L_1 has. We have already noted Strevens's [1975] comment on the peripheral nature of the L_2 and Savignon's observation that the classroom contrasts with "a naturalistic, real setting" since, in the former, "no greater catastrophy [sic] is at stake than a grade" while, in the latter, "the very existence of an individual as a social being is threatened" [Savignon 1972:3]. The community involvement approach, which puts learners into a variety of real, social situations, moves the L_2 and its use from the periphery of the learner's experience and from audiolingualism's "pretend" language learning activities [Savignon 1972:2] to real life situations which allow it to play a central role in the learner's social identity as he interacts with others and, through the language, establishes his social worth. Furthermore, if the language can be seen to promote interaction between community groups, the importance of language learning to life in the multicultural society can be perceived (especially if the language course includes discussion of relevant issues [cf. pp. 646-648]) and motivation is then likely to be increased. It is also increased by the students' perceiving that they actually can use the language to talk to a native speaker [cf. Savignon 1972:29-30; and Chapter Five, pp. 485 - 486]. Considerable practice of the language is given also as, for example, the student writes or telephones to arrange appointments, to invite their "contacts" to *soirées*, or as he makes oral and written reports of his experiences to the class. If one aim of language teaching in the multicultural society is to foster interaction between the communities, this approach better supports it than do traditional methods since it turns the learner out towards others and, thus, the process better matches the ends sought. In addition, attitudes within the community may be changed as interaction between people from different communities takes place, understanding is built up, and the community is put into a position to modify to some extent what happens in the institution [cf. Levy 1975:6-7]. Finally, the approach being outlined clearly integrates "community involvement" within the total course instead of leaving it as a peripheral (perhaps optional) activity.

Three types of community involvement are identifiable: extramural, formal and informal.

EXTRAMURAL ACTIVITIES

"Extramural activities" extend the practice of the language beyond the classroom but in activities closely related to other course components. They are "community involvement" activities in the sense of relating the L_2 to the physical and social environment. They contextualize the language in the real, observable world outside of the classroom but directly support and reinforce the more formal in-class work. They encourage the learner to see his region, his society and his nation through the L_2, to re-think his experience in terms of the L_2, and to use the language naturally and purposefully (e.g., in seeking information and in studying his surroundings). Use of the language is promoted since the learner is discussing things that are reasonably familiar to him (he has something to talk about) but, as he is increasingly involved in discussing them in the L_2, he has the opportunity to re-think them in terms of the L_2. Such activities support the other community involvement activities by giving experience in lexis and functions which are related to discussions on life in his community and nation and which resemble those he is likely to use with native speakers in the ethnic community.

Typical activities of this sort include Social Studies field trips to support a *section bilingue* component [see pp. 547-551], excursions, or the use of radio broadcasts, telecasts, newspapers and similar material produced by the ethnic community or by broadcasting authorities that use the L_2 (e.g., Ethnic Broadcasting or Radio Australia). Teachers College students can escort younger students (e.g., in High School classes) around the school playground, local streets or through supermarkets to talk about what is observed. Typical field trips include geography excursions, visits to a political institution, restaurants, banks, or some other business enterprise. Where Social Studies forms a component of the course, such visits serve the same purpose as in normal L_1 Social Studies when the theoretical classroom discussions are exemplified in the students' community and region. All such "extramural activities" are conducted in the L_2 and serve the purposes outlined in the previous paragraph. Basically, they move the L_2 from the surrogate (and generally barren) C_2 of the classroom to integrate it into the C_1. They are reminiscent of the Chinese approach in which the content of the L_2 courses is based on life in Chinese communes and factories [cf. Ferguson 1975:3, 10].

FORMAL ACTIVITIES

In "formal activities", the student selects or is assigned some specific enquiry to make about the ethnic community (or individuals in it) whose language he is learning. He might, for example, investigage how a French restaurant operates or examine former migrants' views on education in the C_1 and C_2.

Such activities contain the inherent danger that stereotyping may occur or that they might become yet another anthropological look at French or other specimens that are classified, labelled and virtually put away on museum shelves instead of being appreciated for their individual humanity. Nevertheless, they are desirable for three reasons. First, if selected carefully to build up a broad cultural cross-section, they can increase the students' knowledge and understanding of the other culture. Second, if they are set as formal course requirements, they ensure that contact with the ethnic community will occur and help to overcome or suppress student apathy, embarrassment at using the language, and the competing demands on the student's time for other subjects. Third, they provide solid reasons to practise certain language skills or functions (e.g., letter-writing in various forms, making appointments, telephone skills, or reporting). If the students are allowed a choice of the people they interview and the content they discuss, they have the means to acquire certain specialist registers (e.g., they might choose to interview a technician, secretary, or restauranteur according to their interests). The use of authentic data such as the "Orléans" materials permits investigative activities in this category. In addition, the conversation and culture teaching activities of native speaking *assistants* or more casual visitors fall in this category since they are more formal in their nature though they bring the ethnic community into the classroom.

More elaborate forms of this type of community involvement can involve the student's pursuing a theme (e.g., the history of French involvement in Australia) in which interviews provide the data source and the report may be in any form from a written project to a film or slide documentary.

INFORMAL ACTIVITIES

"Informal activities" embody the most desirable goals of a language course in the multicultural society as the student engages in informal social interaction with native speakers (especially from the ethnic community) and their surrogates (e.g., fluent non-native speakers with good knowledge of the C_2 or the ethnic community). They can be considered to embody ultimate and desirable goals if language is being learned for communication purposes since, in these activities, the language is used for everyday communication to understand others, to form natural friendships and even natural, personal (not stereotypic) antipathies, to differentiate individuals, and to develop cross-cultural understanding on a person-to-person basis.

In other words, these activities respond to important human needs, especially in the young adult and adolescent, and provide opportunities for personality development to occur [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 487-501]. Thus, the language and its learning, instead of being peripheral to the learner, assume central importance as means to fulfilling important needs, as means by which he establishes, develops, and maintains social relationships that are essential to the fulfilment of his personality as a social being [cf. Halliday 1974:13]. While such activities occur reasonably often as extracurricular activities in traditional courses, in the approach being discussed here, they are essential, integrated components.

Informal activities may take many forms in the same way as recreational and social activities may. They can arise spontaneously out of initiatives taken during formal interviews or they may occur as *soirées*, excursions, culturally typical dinners, language fairs, sport, or recreational and cultural activities arranged by the institution. Language clubs and, particularly, language camps where students spend a week-end or more living together in recreational or holiday resorts preferably accompanied by native speakers can provide experience of an L_2 environment requiring much use of the language. At a more sophisticated level, residential colleges for language study provide similar out-of-class experience. Advanced students can also be encouraged to participate in local ethnic organizations (e.g., Alliance Française, Dante Alighieri Society, German Dance Group, Greek Community Dramatic Society, Verdi Choral Society, or France-Australia Association). The opportunity may also occur for them to holiday for a week-end or more in a native speaking family or to take part-time jobs such as child-minding and tutoring. Work-study programmes in local businesses or volunteer social work in the ethnic community (e.g., child-minding in pre-school centres, informal interpreting in health and welfare centres, or "meals-on-wheels" in ethnic areas) can give valuable experience of the language as well as, in some cases, make the learner aware of important social and attitudinal issues. An informal activity that relates closely to the "extramural" activities could include the students' showing visitors (e.g., sailors, sporting teams or new migrants) around the city.

Informal activities involving the students in the local ethnic community provide experiences similar to a visit to the C_2.

TIME ABROAD

The benefit from spending time in the C_2 during a language course has already been discussed [Chapter Three, pp. 240-244; Chapter Two, pp. 87-109, 119-133]. It caters for community involvement on a somewhat larger scale, the community being the C_2 instead of the local ethnic community. Which form of community involvement occurs will depend on whether or not a formal course is undertaken in the C_2. The duration of the visit abroad varies in practice from a few weeks in a degree course (as for tertiary French students in Queensland who visit New Caledonia) to a full twelve months [cf. James and Rouve 1973:131-145; Council for National Academic Awards 1974:Par. 7]. Clearly, the longer the stay, the more practice in the language the learner receives, the more opportunities he has to experience and acquire the C_2 culture, and the greater the benefit [cf. Emmans et al. 1974:46] but Carroll [1967: 137; 1967a:200, 203] also found that even a short stay had "a potent effect". Though the ethnic community in the C_1 has advantages for attitude development and relevance to the learner [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 475-480], the C_2 has the advantage of fully surrounding him with the L_2 and its culture, of removing the L_1 influences that inevitably exist in the ethnic community, and of forcing him to operate continuously in the L_2. These factors, together with the stimulation and excitement of travel and life abroad, beneficially influence his instrumental motivation and his attitude to the L_2 and its learning. In particular, he is able to see the language being used as a natural instrument of daily communication instead of as the formal, algebraic artifice that it often becomes in classrooms isolated from the local community. Clearly, spending time abroad is particularly important for students learning a language not widely spoken in the local community: during their time abroad they receive some of the benefits that, we have seen, students of community languages receive from community involvement activities.

Community involvement constitutes the integrating principle for the approach to L_2 teaching considered here. All other activities can grow out of or prepare students for the interaction with native speakers that characterizes it. Thus, it provides the general framework of language experience by which the two principal goals of language development and attitude change are attained.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Language development is a vital part of the course. The activities discussed in this chapter (including those more directly concerned with attitude development) are chosen to promote language development through the learner's being involved in initiating, purposeful use of the language for communication [Chapter Four, pp. 318-321, 328-334]. Such learning, through the communicative use of the language, improves communicative competence without reducing the linguistic competence attained [cf. Chapter Four; Savignon 1972:17]. Nevertheless, some specific attention to certain aspects of the language is desirable if only because there is a linguistic content that must be experienced and internalized [cf. Carroll 1969:235] and, in a FL (in contrast to an L_1 or L_2) situation, the experience of some elements may be too little or too irregular to enable them to be readily and naturally (i.e., "informally") acquired [cf. Wilkins 1974:70]. Both formal and informal learning experiences are to be encouraged [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363 - 366] but formal learning should always be seen, not as the main teaching-learning process, but as a support component responding to specific needs felt by the learners. Since natural language use is the objective, it is essential that the language be experienced and practised in natural interaction settings and not only in the classroom [cf. Rivers 1975b:8]. It is in such settings that meaningfulness of the language and its elements is ensured since they have semantic and functional meaning.

SYNTAX

Though some differences have been observed between advanced L_2 learning and L_1 acquisition, the essential problem, internalization of the rule system, is basically the same [cf. Kessler 1972]. This internalization may take place through both formal and informal means though the latter have been described as centrally important and leading to natural language use [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363-366]. Traditionally, advanced courses have emphasized formal learning of syntax and have used a "remedial" approach in which prose translation served to identify errors to be "drilled out" [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 57-58, 599]. The results yielded have been shown to be either not significant or even negative [see pp. 599 -

600]. Furthermore, if learners follow a largely pre-determined schedule [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 412-421], it would seem desirable that they be able to focus on those structures or rules most suitable for them whether they be previously studied structures to be revised or new ones to be learned. Thus, we saw earlier [pp. 566-573] that a preferable approach entails much active use (e.g., in community involvement) leading to the student's identification of his own needs, and an individualized grammatical programme in response. A similar feedback process can serve to identify the other components requiring formal study such as lexis, discourse, and functions.

However, active learning methods have been emphasized throughout this thesis and formal methods taken to excess or not used in response to real needs identified through feedback from use will perpetuate the passive, "digestive" [cf. Freire 1970:26] approach to language learning rejected in Chapter Four. Where formal learning occurs, it must be followed by much practice to habitualize the application of rules or functions learned in this way [cf. Carroll 1971a] and to enable "informal" learning also to occur [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363 - 366]. Even the Committee of Twelve, imbued with traditionalism, reminded U.S. language teachers that "the grammar is there for the sake of the language and not the language for the sake of the grammar" and they offered as a maxim "little theory and much application" [Thomas 1900: 57]. The insights into language learning discussed in Chapter Four emphasize use still more.

Basically, the approach recommended here is "analytic" [Wilkins 1974:72-74]. The learner experiences a great variety of linguistic forms and, at times, focusses on certain structures for elucidation of a rule and practice in its application. The rules for closer examination are identified by feedback from using the language and are formally learned in an individualized grammar programme [see pp. 566 - 573]. This accords with Rivers's recommendation that the times when communication is dominant should be separated from those when formal learning goes on and when formal accuracy is required and is being practised. It ensures, in addition, that, provided the feedback link works effectively, such practice responds to real needs of which the learner is aware.

FEEDBACK. Feedback clearly has a valuable role to play in enabling the formal grammar programme to respond to each learner's felt needs and in matching new items to pre-established cognitive categories [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 432-434]. Feedback in the sense of information on the formal accuracy of an utterance, we have seen, is less important [see Chapter Four, pp. 355-363]. In methodological terms, it means that the learner should be encouraged to use the language since, in doing so, he learns [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 318 - 347]; the teacher should avoid inhibiting his use by excessive correction of the errors that are the natural outcome of his interlanguage system [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 421-423] but he should, rather, provide a generally accepting environment [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 355 - 361]. However, he might at times (though not continuously because of its inhibiting effect) ask the learner to monitor his own language both to correct it using the formally learned rules and to identify deficiencies for the formal grammar programmes [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 361-363]. As Gouin observed, traditional correction of exercises by language teachers seems to serve little positive good and "a correction can be of no profit except to him who seeks to find out his faults" [Gouin 1892:179]. Such self-monitoring, where conscious control is exerted over the language produced by applying formally learned rules, is most appropriate in writing where formal correctness assumes more importance and time for production is more flexible. It might also be required where a more formal spoken register is being practised (as, for example, in the formal presentation of a report or in a debate).

Formal learning, we have seen, can assist language learning if it responds to felt need. Traditionally, it has taken two forms: the formal discussion of grammar and drills.

FORMAL DISCUSSION. If language learning involves the acquisition of the rules of the language, anything that clarifies the rules for the learner should promote learning and, to this extent, some formal discussion of syntax would seem appropriate if it helps the learner obtain a coherent, internally contrasting and self-sufficient model of the linguistic system [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 363 - 366]. Thus, Von Elek [1975] and Von Elek and Oskarsson [1973:8, 9, 26, 39] found that methods that included explicit grammatical explanations were superior to those that did not [cf. Nida 1957:41]. Seliger [1975:16] found long term retention better with deductive methods and Mountford [1975] and Freedman [1975] both reported studies showing that explicit formalization of rules is more successful than methods relying on the learners' intuiting them. Francis [1975:168] observed that even seven year old children started to isolate and reflect upon linguistic forms. The rational abilities of post-puberty adolescents and adults are considerably more developed than those of children [cf. Penfield 1953] and, in addition, they have experienced twelve or more years of an education system that emphasizes rational learning and understanding.

Thus, the child studies by Dulay and Burt [e.g., 1974a:135] that suggest that less explicit rule formalization may promote child L_2 learning may not be entirely applicable to older advanced learners [see Chapter Four, pp. 295-313].

It seems, then, that some form of explicit grammatical explanation could be advantageous at least with older learners. However, the problem of remedial approaches and of the boredom of going over again what was not retained previously remains. To some extent this is overcome by use of feedback and individualization as discussed above but, in addition, it is important at the advanced level to ensure that the learner who is aiming at a high level of proficiency, formal accuracy and flexibility has acquired the necessary coherent and internally contrasting model. Close [1975] and Quinn [1976] suggest that a formal linguistic study of the grammar of the language may overcome both problems (i.e., systematization and remediation) without the boredom of simple repetitiveness. In addition, such an approach may have some effect on linguistic sensitivity [see 596-599].

DRILLS. However the learner obtains the rules of the language, whether by induction or deduction, piecemeal or in a systematic linguistics course, formal learning must be followed by much active use of the language. The general reasons were discussed earlier [Chapter Four] but, in addition, extensive use is needed to ensure the learner does not confuse rule memorization with the ability to use the rules in production and comprehension.

Pattern drills or something like them (e.g., a text structured to illustrate numerous examples of a linguistic point) still have a place in this approach but their role is different from that in audiolingual methods. First, they assist in the habitualization of a rule, as already discussed. Second, they assist in the retention of formally learned, abstract rules and help to make them more concrete. Third, they provide a structured language environment where the perception of a rule or linguistic principle is facilitated. Fourth, they provide an opportunity for the learner to "mull over" data in order, through the "cerebration" process, to intuit and elucidate the rules he is learning [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 389-391; Ingram 1974:Section III.v]. Fifth, if structured to illustrate the possible variations on the rule, "drills" might provide a means for the learner to passively test the limits of rules [cf. Torrey 1971: 247]. Sixth, provided that drills are structured to encourage the learner's initiative as in Folomkina's function-based drills [1975], the additional practice they give may assist in rule stabilization and in overcoming errors of performance (in contrast to errors of competence) [cf. Swain 1974:125-126].

Nevertheless, it must be realized that drills generally are passive, that they often fail to cause the physiological arousal that is pre-requisite to learning [cf. Lee et al. 1970; Brière 1971:391], and that there is no significant evidence that they very effectively promote language learning. They can be justified (and then only in the terms used above) when they constitute a response to satisfy a felt need of the learner and are structured to cause his positive, initiating involvement in a surrogate communication act. They rely for any success on, and do not replace, the learner's ability to intuit linguistic principles, i.e., on his linguistic sensitivity.

LINGUISTIC SENSITIVITY. In this approach, where considerable reliance is placed on the learner's ability to intuit rules from language experience or at least to recognize his own deficiencies, linguistic sensitivity is important. It is all the more important when one realizes the impossibility of covering all the intricacies of a language's grammar and the reliance one must place on the advanced student's learning from general experience. Carroll [1958:16] found that "inductive learning ability" or the ability to induce grammatical rules and properties of language from data was one of the most important factors in language learning and he noted [1967a:190, 205] that students with particular grammatical sensitivity were more likely to develop interest in linguistic facts and principles and to show high aptitude. To some extent, linguistic sensitivity would seem to be a natural rather than learned trait though the fact that a linguist can, with experience, improve his ability to identify principles, to recognize regularities, or to formulate appropriate rules shows that training is possible. Carroll's study also found [1967a:150] that students who had studied Latin (the teaching of which traditionally emphasized formal grammar) performed significantly better overall but especially in those aspects of L_2 study (e.g., writing) that were associated with grammatical analysis. Angoff and Sharon [1970:9] suggest that the linguistic sensitivity developed by FL courses emphasizing grammatical laws explains the relatively better performance of foreign students on a sentence correction test when compared with native speakers.

In all, there would seem to be some value in introducing advanced students to linguistic principles and modes of thought, a process which, we saw earlier, also ensures that advanced learners acquire a coherent model of the language. At earlier stages, the time needed is probably better spent in increasing the learner's experience of the language although, where it has been tried, some improvement in language learning has been (anecdotally) reported (e.g., in "language communication" courses in Victoria, which amount to elementary courses in comparative linguistics [cf. De Fazio 1974]). Advanced students, especially in a teacher education institution, have greater need of a coherent, systematic model of the language; this can form the basis of the theoretical or descriptive study, it can serve the sensitization process, and its presentation can assist in the "learn through use" principle [Chapter Four, pp. 321 - 325] as the student uses the L_2 to study linguistics.

The sensitization process can also occur as the learner identifies the relationships in utterances [cf. Smith 1971], examines alternative ways of expressing the same meaning, offers alternative transformations for the same deep structures, and makes stylistic or register variations to express the same conceptual content in different situations. Farrington suggested useful exercises to increase students' "awareness" of language (i.e., their sensitivity to it): comparing various renditions of the same text, identifying "stray" sentences inserted into a text, and taking, for example, a nineteenth century dialogue and re-writing it as a modern film dialogue [University of Reading Department of French Studies 1966].

If some formal model of the language is to be presented, the question arises of which linguistic theory to use. To the extent that sensitivity is important, it does not matter which model is selected although the more adequate, powerful and insightful the model is, the more suitable, as a systematic model, it will be (unless practical conditions of time and complexity intervene to recommend a simpler or previously studied approach). Whatever model is chosen, the teacher must remember that its use is meant to support language learning. It should not assume such importance that it becomes an end in itself and unduly reduces the time given to using the language.

REMEDIAL METHODS. Most advanced language courses have traditionally taught grammar by remedial methods aimed at "drilling out" errors and re-teaching those structures the students are weak in. For this purpose, proses were often used to "cast the net wide" and "catch" problems for remedial treatment. However, the evidence cited earlier concerning learning schedules and readiness [Chapter Four, especially pp. 412-419] suggests that rules arbitrarily selected for class study are unlikely to be successfully, permanently or efficiently acquired by all students. In addition, Carroll [1967a:202] found that students who had taken remedial courses showed no advantage over those who had taken use-oriented courses and, in most cases, they were significantly inferior. Similarly, the 1975 BAAL/SELMOUS Conference continually referred to the lack of success of traditional remedial courses and to students' dislike of them, especially in comparison with function-based courses [e.g., Moller 1975; Davies 1975; Wallace 1975].

If "remedial" exercises are to be effective, they must cater for real language learning strategies, focus on structures relevant to the learner's stage of development, and answer needs of which he himself is conscious [cf. Chapter Four]. It seems to be in such a context that Cowie and Heaton [1975:79, 86-87] have reincorporated some remedial work in a function-based programme after having originally abandoned remedial approaches. Remedial-type exercises (including repetitive drilling) might also serve to overcome rule instability by habitualizing the application of a rule and reducing performance errors [cf. pp. 594 - 596]. However, to be relevant, they must respond to the learner's felt needs [cf. pp. 591 - 593] and, therefore, exist as support activities to learning through much active and diverse experience of the whole grammatical framework of the language [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 348 - 350].

WIDE, DIVERSE EXPERIENCE. We have already seen the need for wide, diverse experience of the language to promote general development [Chapter Four, pp. 348 - 350; Chapter Six, pp. 560 - 562]. In that the grammar of a language forms a coherent, internally contrasting (and, hence, meaningful) whole, it is essential that each structure be experienced in the context of the language in general. In addition, diverse and extensive experience ensures that the learner will more frequently experience each item in production or comprehension [cf. pp. 562-566]. It also ensures that he will meet and eventually learn the "refinements" of the grammar, the collocational restrictions, and the less generalized forms and "exceptions" which the necessarily limited formal course may be unable to explicitly teach [cf. Wilkins 1974:67]. In addition, the procedure being advocated in this thesis approximates to a "natural" language learning situation but one made more efficient by guidance, structuring of the environment, and selection of materials to hasten the induction and acquisition of the rules. In the natural situation, the learner has far more language experience than in the traditional classroom where much of the talk is in the L_1. It is essential that in-class and out-of-class activities be designed to maximize and diversify the student's experience of the L_2. In this context, community involvement as well as the more traditional enrichment activities (films, reading, etc.) can be seen to play a specific part in grammar learning.

A further reason for wide, syntactically uncontrolled experience is to give the advanced learner practice in coping with structures he has not yet mastered, i.e., in using the redundancy features to assist his comprehension. Since a language programme is necessarily finite, the learner will inevitably have to cope with structures and structural variations that are not a part of his linguistic competence. At least on the lexical level, though sometimes in syntax also (especially in the case of syntactic mazes and other performance aberrations), the native speaker does this frequently but L_2 learners often seem to get flustered in such circumstances instead of spontaneously using the redundancy features to assist [cf. Sturtridge et al. 1975]. The more diverse his experience, the more practice the student will have in this but, in addition, more formal exercises that use the redundancy principle (e.g., cloze, white noise, and interlinear exercises) may give him formal practice in using his own and the context's resources to compensate for lacunae. Interlinear exercises (provided they are not used to such an excess that they perpetuate a word-by-word approach to reading) can be particularly useful because, in addition to encouraging the observation and use of textual redundancy, they encourage the learner to observe the syntax and, in particular, the cohesive devices; they also build the learner's confidence by showing him that he can comprehend utterances without total word comprehension. If native speaker transcripts are used, e.g., from the "Orléans" materials, interlinear exercises can clearly illustrate to learners who have become tongue-tied from overemphasis on formal accuracy that native speakers frequently make "errors" or produce syntactic mazes and this realization may encourage them to "let go" and use the language more freely.

FLUENCY AND ACCURACY. Two issues of general importance implicit in the preceding discussion are fluency and accuracy. The ultimate aim of most language courses is native-like proficiency with an acceptable adherence to the standard educated dialect. However, premature or excessive concentration on formal accuracy imposes a condition on language use which native speakers do not have (as the "Orléans" sociolinguistic resource materials show) and which is destructive of natural language learning [see Chapter Four, especially pp. 341 -347, 406 -412, 421-423]. The realization of advanced students that every error they make will, as in the prose, be marked in red and reduce their semester grade destroys their confidence. Rather, accuracy (i.e., complete acquisition of the standard educated dialect) should be seen as a long-term goal.

The discussions above on rule stabilization and remedial methods suggest, with the constraints indicated, ways in which formal accuracy may be promoted [pp. 594 -596, 599 - 600]. It may also be that, as the student learns to utilize the redundancy features, greater formal accuracy will result since he will realize that such accuracy increases the level of redundancy. If Richards [1972:161] is correct, the more favourably the learner views the L_2 speakers and comes to identify with them, the more likely he is to learn the standard dialect rather than fossilize an interlanguage (cf. also the standard views on integrative and instrumental motivation of Gardner, Lambert and Tucker [e.g., Gardner and Lambert 1972]). In the methods proposed in this thesis, aimed at improving cross-cultural attitudes, it is more likely that this identification process will occur with a beneficial effect on formal accuracy.

In addition, content and context make quite dramatic differences to fluency and accuracy. This is illustrated by anecdotal evidence from a teaching project that trialled some of the ideas in this thesis. Two of the weakest Third Year College students who made successful and agreeable contacts in the community reported on their experiences with enthusiasm, fluency, and a high degree of formal accuracy. When, later in the semester, they had to provide a purely linguistic report, they regressed to their former hesitancy and inaccuracy. Similarly, Examiners' Reports [Chapter Two, pp. 152-154] show that, when students are struggling to find something to say, the quality of their language deteriorates, perhaps supporting Stern's contention [1974:25-26] that weaker learners cannot focus on both content and form simultaneously.

Spelling, an increasingly important feature of the written language at the advanced level, may be assisted by some formalization of rules and attention to etymology [cf. Mountford 1975; O'Rourke 1974:114].

The two issues of fluency and accuracy are clearly related, first, because both are sensitive to motivation and, second, because fear of making an error is inhibiting, dislocates expression and encourages excessive self-monitoring [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 361 -363; King 1974:170-171]. Fluency of comprehension and production will also be inhibited if the learner's model of the world and the L_2 are not matched since he will have to "sort through" his ideas and language to comprehend or to find a means of expression. Hence, fluency will be increased by the learner's having the opportunity to re-think his M.O.W. in terms of his new language [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 426-431; Chapter Six, pp. 638-642]. In addition, the matching of thought and expression, i.e., the mobilization of language to convey ideas, will come through practice and, again, much experience in using the language is necessary. Translation does not provide suitable experience since it habitualizes a mental set in which, in both comprehension and production, the L_1 compulsively intervenes. Van Passel [1974:142] suggests a useful technique: films are first viewed and then re-run silently while the learner fills in the sound track; fluency is encouraged since the preliminary viewings provide meaning and foreground relevant language, and then the learner is carried along by the flow of the film without having time to think or indulge in silent translation.

Nevertheless, rate of comprehension is more important than rate of utterance since the learner cannot control the other speaker. Nor is he able to control the complexity of another speaker's utterances and some attention to increasing his ability to handle complex utterances is desirable.

COMPLEXITY OF LANGUAGE. Linguistic complexity is partly determined by the length of utterances and the number of syntactic rules needed to generate them [cf. Carroll 1971:133; Strickland 1962:25-26; Francis 1975:105]. Other factors include the nature of the ideational content and its familiarity to the participants, the discourse structure and the extent to which it is lexically marked [cf. Ingram 1976: 5-7], the cultural distance between speaker/writer and listener/reader [cf. Sandulescu 1975], the incidence of nominalization, and the familiarity of the register used, its functions, lexis and syntax.

Since the listener/reader cannot control others' production, the ability to produce complex sentence or textual structures is less important than the ability to comprehend them and to utilize the linguistic markers to assist comprehension. Nevertheless, the demands of self-expression, argument, the qualification of ideas (e.g., in hypothesis, supposition, condition) and the expectations of different, especially more formal, registers require that the advanced learner develop flexibility in sentence and discourse patterns [cf. Loban 1966:88-90].

Like fluency and accuracy, complexity is sensitive to context [cf. Francis 1975:66, 105; Strang and Hocker 1965] but clearly it is also, to some extent, a natural outcome of the learner's increasing memory capacity, his increasing familiarity with the syntax (especially its potential for embedding), and with the culture the language subsumes. Ability to handle complex syntax may be assisted by specific practice in combining and embedding utterances though the limitations of formal exercises should be observed. Such exercises are perhaps more appropriate to writing where more time is available during production to consciously consider structure, where memory limitations are less significant, and where conscious self-monitoring is more frequent than in oral production. Mastery of the cultural dimension of language complexity is illustrated by the advanced learner's developing his ability to read newspapers and other material whose comprehension depends heavily on the everyday, group knowledge of its readers or on the micro-culture it creates for itself over a period. Deliberate attention in an advanced course to the devices of discourse and cohesion will also assist but will be considered subsequently [see pp. 619-622; also 562-566]. In addition, natural adult language is "plurifunctional" [cf. Halliday 1974:31; 1975:158] but the ability to handle such complex language cannot be developed in the controlled and semantically and contextually sterile classroom situation but rather in interaction with people in natural circumstances and in situations where the complexity of ideas and relationships will stimulate more complex utterances. Thus, community involvement experiences are called for where functional complexity occurs naturally, where the social context provokes more complex utterances [cf. Francis 1975:56], and where the student learns to use the context to assist comprehension.

In summary, the emphasis in grammatical development, as elsewhere in language learning, falls on learning through use. Though formal teaching and drilling of discrete structures may have a part, they should occur in response to need felt by the learner in the course of wide, diverse experience and active use of the language in natural and stimulating situations. Similar principles apply to the teaching of the other components of advanced language courses.

VOCABULARY

Vocabulary development is of considerable importance in advanced language learning since, at this level, the demands that the student makes on his language become more numerous, more varied, more subtle, and exist in more specialist registers. In addition, it is an area of particular weakness as students enter this stage [see Chapter Two, pp. 85-87].

The general principles of advanced language teaching and learning apply as much to vocabulary as to other aspects of the language. Vocabulary, also, is learned through use in that the attempt to communicate, to express ideas and to learn about the environment creates the need for vocabulary [cf. Halliday 1975:43]. This need leads to a search for lexical items to match conceptual categories and thus to satisfy communicative need; the subsequent use of the item assists its retention and later mobilization and enables the learner to test out the semantic, categorial and contextual flexibility of the word.

Memorization of lists of words indiscriminately whether or not need for them has occurred is unlikely to result in a readily mobilizable lexical store. Words memorized in this way (generally with their L_1 "meanings") will be, at best, accessed only via the

L_1. This results in misrepresentation of the real meaning by creating false equivalences [cf. Carroll 1963:1075] and also in the hesitancy discussed earlier [pp. 603 - 606]. There is need for the L_2 to be integrated with a matching model of the world and, therefore, the learner must have the opportunity to rethink his experience in terms of the L_2, to establish new categories, and to find the L_2 words to match them [see pp. 638 - 642; Chapter Four, pp. 426 - 431]. The process of classification and categorization is fundamental to concept development and thinking and, hence, vocabulary development can be seen as concept development (or, at least, concept re-formation). The two processes go on concurrently and the emphasis the methods discussed here place on concept development and re-structuring (e.g., in the Social Studies component) will promote vocabulary acquisition. The greater the vocabulary and its associated conceptual development, the greater the chances of enabling the learner to think and spontaneously express himself in the L_2 and the more understanding he is likely to be of how L_2 speakers view the world [cf. O'Rourke 1974:28, 47, 61].

This notion of the relationship between vocabulary and the model of the world emphasizes the importance of meaning and raises the issue of relationships between concepts and between lexical items. O'Rourke

[1974:Chapter V] discusses this at length and particularly emphasizes [ibid.:112-113] the value of etymological approaches that show the derivational origins of, and relationships between words. Taylor [1976] recommends a feature analytic or componential analysis approach. Both proposals are useful in seeking a coherent, internally contrasting set of lexical items which, in turn, reflect the L_2's categorization of a part of the universe. Nevertheless, the teacher would have to ensure that, in using such approaches, he did not over-emphasize formal discussion at the cost of use of the items in production and comprehension.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that the more associative links or networks that can be made around an item (e..g, between the item and other experiences or between one item and others), the more recall will be facilitated [cf. pp. 562 -566]. Gouin's series method [1892:61-64] recognizes this principle in associating items with objects and events; O'Rourke [1974:14] notes that the everyday objects and events of people's lives are associated with the names of those objects and events; and Nelson [1972: 33] speaks of "salience" or striking qualities that impinge on the child through his interactions with the object or its changes and differentiate each object or event from others. L_2 exercises which let the student make various substitutions in a sentence or text and observe the effect on meaning help him to set up associations between words in a semantic field [cf. University of Reading Department of French Studies 1966:11] and Taylor's [1976] componential analysis approach also highlights the ways in which items relate in a semantic field. Similarly, O'Rourke proposes a "mental filing system" where words are classified under general topics to facilitate storage and retrieval. Halliday [1975:33-34] observes that the child adopts one generally available, unmarked item, a nucleus concept or word, for most frequent use; around this item, others adhere but are called on only in accordance with the "good reason" principle, i.e., when they have a significant contrast to make [cf. Blum-Kulka 1977]. This suggests the desirability of the learner's first acquiring generalizable lexical items and, at an advanced stage, giving increased attention to more restricted ones. The need to create associations between the item and its referent, its experiential context, and the objects in the learner's world emphasizes again the desirability of extensive experience of the language in a variety of situations but especially in the society in which the learner lives and will use the language, i.e., through the various types of community involvement activity or in the C_2.

Reviewing various theories on "linguistic symbols", Fodor [1971:360] concludes that learning the meaning of a word involves learning the rules that determine its use. This active, rule-based view of vocabulary acquisition emphasizes the need for learners to experience words in various situations and to try them out for themselves to establish the extent and limits of their use [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 325-328, 341-347]. This approach contextualizes the word so that its collocational possibilities and restrictions are also learned. The varied activities (especially community involvement) recommended in this thesis clearly respond to this need but some more formal activities may also assist (within the constraints already discussed). Such activities might include using a new word in a variety of sentences and contexts, finding different sentences or contexts in which a word is used or ones in which it could be substituted, seeking similar or different uses of the word, and seeking synonyms and antonyms for it. In addition, if L_1 learning is indicative, a word must be heard or read many times before it will be readily available for production [Penfield 1964:81] and this emphasizes again the need for much diverse experience including much listening and much rapid reading.

Vocabulary is collocated according to syntax and mobilized to achieve language tasks and some specific attention to how those tasks (or language functions) are carried out will facilitate language learning.

FUNCTIONS

In Chapter Four [especially pp. 377-383], the notion of language learning as function learning was discussed at some length and the value of basing advanced courses on functions relevant to the learner's needs was stressed since, in Wilkins's words,

> *what people want to do through language is more important than mastery of language as an unapplied system.* [Wilkins 1972:12]

The functional approach capitalizes on the "learning through use" principle and teaches the learner how to mobilize and structure the knowledge he has accumulated [cf. Halliday 1974:9], an application task which is not automatic [cf. Candlin 1974]. Savignon [1972] found that students who followed a communicative skills programme did not necessarily learn more of the language but did improve their ability to communicate. Community involvement activities (including social skills), study and travel needs suggest important functions for an advanced course. Savignon's programme [1972:28-29] included greetings and leave-taking to people in four different social relationships to the student (e.g., new student, old friend, professor, mother), information-giving and -getting in different situations, introductions, invitations, compliments, congratulations, describing on-going events, and reporting. Recorded materials (e.g., videotapes or films of native speakers or the "Orléans" materials) can provide authentic data involving functions which are then practised in simulation exercises, role play, drama, and language games. Formal, controlled practice of simple functions (e.g., refuting, agreeing) can be given in function-based drills [cf. pp. 594 -596; Folomkina 1975] provided they are in response to need and are followed up in less controlled situations.

In planning a course, the functions the learner requires must be identified and the course planned to practise these and integrate this component with the rest of the course. In teaching language for special purposes Close [1975] recommends that relevant texts be analysed to identify functions used (e.g., how to express purpose, cause, effect or result) and the lexis and syntax they incorporate. Similarly, Cooper [1974] says that in teaching English as an L_2 for science, the mental strategies common to scientific ways of operating must be taught. The feedback process from use to formal teaching is equally applicable here and ensures that the functions formally taught respond to the learners' felt needs [cf. pp. 591-593].

However, functions are carried by language consisting of words combined according to syntax and modified according to register. Hence, syntax and lexis should not be neglected in order to focus solely on functions. The problem for the course writer is to integrate the teaching of syntax and lexis with that of functions. Modular courses provide one answer with the formally taught structures and lexis practised subsequently in relevant functions [e.g., Cowie and Heaton 1977:44-52]. Folomkina's [1975] approach to function-based language laboratory drills integrates formal practice of functions, rules and lexis [cf. pp. 573 -576].

The major need for the methodologist at this stage in the history of language teaching is for the identification of the functions needed by students in a community involvement course, their linguistic description, the preparation of formal teaching materials, and the development of integrated programmes that practise functions as well as other language elements. Some functional studies of English and French have been made [e.g., Buckby 1972; Wilkins 1972; Van Ek 1975; Cowie and Heaton 1977] but considerably more work is required in other languages and, especially for community involvement purposes, in all those languages taught in Australia.

It is significant that certain of the functions that Halliday believes fundamental in L_1 learning are deficient in matriculants' French [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 377 - 383; Chapter Two, pp. 143 -147]. In particular, the pragmatic, mathetic and imaginative functions were little in evidence yet they are essential to language and conceptual development. The mathetic or heuristic functions (essential to developing or re-structuring conceptual development and used to explore the environment) can be practised if other things are taught through the L_2, if interaction with the ethnic community is encouraged (since the learner uses the L_2 to explore it), and if formal learning is integrated with the local environment (e.g., in the extramural community involvement activities [pp. 581-582]). Other desirable functions include conversation skills (i.e., for the "informal" community involvement activities and including how to enter, maintain or leave a conversation), the functions of life in the home and shops, study skills, and those functions needed to cope with the "survival situations" of life as a tourist in the C_2. Loban's study of Primary School L_1 development [1966:45, 90] identified the ability to express generalizations, tentativeness, supposition, hypothesis and conditional statements as important in effective language use; the factor that distinguished weaker from linguistically stronger children was "clarity of expression" or the ability to arrange and anticipate sentence elements in order to achieve a task [ibid.:76-77]. Study skills could include seminar discussion skills, note-taking, and report-writing [cf. Cowie and Heaton 1977]. "Survival situations" will differ in the multicultural society and the C_2. For the former, letter and telephone skills, conversation and enquiry will be important; for the C_2, where the student might be as a tourist, the salient functions will be for commercial transactions and enquiry (e.g., in shops, airline offices, railways, hotels, post offices, or in seeking directions).

Halliday observes [1973, 1974, 1975] that young children and adults differ in the functional complexity of their language. In adult language, several of the unitary functions of very early L_1 usage co-occur, i.e., the adult speaker uses language in different ways for a variety of purposes simultaneously [Halliday 1974:27]. At the advanced level, the student must learn to handle such complex language though he will be able to do so only if, at earlier stages, he has learned to use language elements in functionally simpler utterances [cf. Rivers 1975b: 5-6]. The advanced learner, accustomed to using his L_1 in a functionally complex way, naturally wishes to use his L_2 similarly. Much of his embarrassment and hesitancy is attributable to his inability to mobilize knowledge rapidly enough to cope with the complexity of the task (e.g., to request information while precisely specifying his social relationship to the other person). Clearly, he is unlikely to have experienced functionally complex language in the controlled environment of the classroom and, to develop his ability to do so, must experience normal adult language in a natural situation such as community involvement activities provide.

Essentially, functions refer to ways of mobilizing linguistic signals (segmental, suprasegmental, and paralinguistic) in order to get things done. Hence, if they are to be practised, it must be in a context of purpose. That is, courses teaching functions must contain activities in which the student uses the language to achieve other ends. Community involvement provides many such purposeful activities and, in particular, by providing a real-life social context, adds to those possible in the classroom that of establishing real, social role relationships [cf. Halliday 1974:10, 13]. Other activities that provide functional experience in other than formal, practice situations include operating a language club, studying other subjects through the L_2, and language games. When the learner's felt need dictates, particular functions may be formally practised using authentic models in ways indicated earlier.

It was observed that functions refer to the way language knowledge is mobilized, structured, and organized in order to achieve certain tasks in ways acceptable to the native speaker [cf. Allen 1964:56]. Part of the structuring and organization is provided and marked by the features of discourse and cohesion.

DISCOURSE AND COHESION

Though discourse and cohesion are different, the former referring to the supra-sentence structuring of a text and the latter to the semantic relation realized through the lexicogrammatical system that links one element in a text to another [cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976:5-18], here they will be considered together.

The survey of language proficiency at matriculation found considerable weakness in the devices of discourse and cohesion [Chapter Two, pp. 76 -81 , 109 - 114] and they require particular attention at the advanced level. This is particularly necessary when the L_2 follows a thought sequence different from the L_1 [cf. Kaplan 1966] or where the tendency (e.g., in French as compared with English) is for the L_2 to make more or less use of the lexicogrammatical devices that spell out cohesion or discourse. Comprehension of conjunctions and other markers (at least in the sense of being able to give an L_1 equivalent) is not so much the problem as the learner's being able to respond to them quickly and being able automatically to relate words, structures and ideas or mentally balance one idea against another as the marker requires. In addition to recognizing the force of the device, this implies the ability to retain in immediate memory the necessary components of the text [see pp. 565 - 566].

Learners can be helped to perceive and use the features of discourse and cohesion by exercises which foreground their relational functions. Formal activities may be used to draw the learner's attention to them and encourage him to utilize them to aid in comprehension and to structure production more acceptably. Jones [1975] suggests that texts be printed so that sentences functioning similarly start on the same vertical line with arrows drawn to indicate the discourse structure and the relationships it marks. Cohesive devices can be highlighted similarly with lines drawn to mark endophora or with students using redundant cohesive features to suggest missing words or morphology. Another formal exercise involves the student's unravelling jumbled words or sentences. Learners need to realize that the discourse features suggest meaning. Consequently, Sturtridge et al. [1975] recommend activities in which the learner uses discourse markers to postulate what follows (e.g., a "because" clause is played and the student completes the utterance). By substituting nonsense for content words, they force students to focus on the linking devices and the line of argument marked out. Rivers [1975a] teaches discourse features with exercises in which the student listens to or reads a passage and answers questions that focus on items serving special functions (e.g., who, because, when). Précis and paraphrase [e.g., Ross et al. 1967:7-8; Bate 1974a; Evans c.1974] are of particular value in this since the original passage guides the student in selecting appropriate markers to use while the need to identify the important issues for inclusion requires that the learner perceive how the parts of a text relate to each other, a feature which is marked out by the discourse markers. Similarly, monologue where the student imitates native speaker speeches practises discourse structure and was observed by Francis [1975: 211] to be an important strategy serving this purpose in L_1 learning [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 340-341]. It can be combined with community involvement and other activities (e.g., film viewing) to become a form of reporting. In this case, the context and the sequence of events assist the learner in structuring the text and the motivation to communicate them to his listeners may help to improve his selection and use of discourse markers [cf. pp. 603 -606; Loban 1966:78].

THE SOUND SYSTEM AND PARALINGUISTIC FEATURES

By the advanced stage, students could be expected to be reasonably accurate in production of the phonemes though the Examiners' Reports indicate that this is not always the case [Chapter Two, pp. 81 - 84]. The general principles for language teaching and learning apply here also, viz., much aural experience, productive use of the language in communication, feedback from use leading to formal attention to weaknesses, and rational discussion (e.g., of articulation) where this assists in developing the appropriate muscular habits and the learner's ability to monitor his own pronunciation. Pronunciation development depends partly on attitudinal development since it is particularly sensitive to the identification process. Diller [1971:99] notes, for instance, that some adults prefer to maintain their accent to show that they are not native speakers of the language [cf. also Guiora et al. 1972; Tarone 1976:90]. Consequently, a well-balanced community involvement programme that leads to more favourable cross-cultural attitudes may increase integrative motivation and lead to better pronunciation. In addition, such experiences inform the learner on the comprehensibility and acceptability of his pronunciation and give him experience in comprehending a variety of different "accents".

The suprasegmentals (especially intonation) pose particular problems. They operate in at least three ways: first, they carry an important affective content; second, their contours lead to a focus of attention on different parts of an utterance and, in this, match the segmental features of discourse and cohesion; and, third, they carry functional meaning differentiating, for example, questions from statements. They seem to be felt as intimate parts of personal expression and so, for instance, the greater range of pitch in French compared with Australian English is rejected by Australian learners as too emotional. Mastery of the suprasegmentals for comprehension and production is desirable but intonation, in particular, is undoubtedly the hardest part of an L_2 to learn (perhaps because most courses postpone it to the advanced stages whereas it is learned first in the L_1

schedule). The same teaching principles indicated above for other parts of the sound system apply for suprasegmentals.

Paralinguistic features are also particularly difficult to acquire, perhaps for reasons of empathy and identification, as noted for intonation. Gesture has been much discussed in the literature [e.g., Wundt 1973; Kendon et al. 1975; Farb 1973:Chapter 10; Abercrombie 1968] but two features which have received little attention amongst language teachers, though they are frequently cited as important by members of non-Anglo communities in Australia, are eye-hold (i.e., the extent to which one looks at people when talking) and the physical distance between speakers [cf. Scheflen 1975; Vine 1975; Middleton 1977]. Clearly, the same principles of teaching apply but, intuitively, it seems that comprehension is more important than production since a wide range in the extent of use of paralinguistic features is acceptable but the learner needs at least to avoid misunderstanding the native speaker's use of such features. Savignon's course included specific practice in communicative acts using the "kinesic features of communication" [Savignon 1972:20] but much experience observing these features in use and interpreting their meaning in the context of the total language situation is at least as important. Community involvement activities, films and television give opportunities for this to occur.

The language components that have been considered to this stage vary in use according to the situation in which the language act occurs. If language is to be used appropriately, the learner must be able to vary his selection of the components to meet the situation's register requirements.

REGISTERS

All language teaching implies some tacit or overt choice of register [cf. Chapter One, pp. 7-8, 14-16]. However, it was seen that students at matriculation remain largely insensitive to register variations and unable to modulate their own production in response to situational variations [cf. Chapter Two, pp. 133 -143]. To rectify this, the discussion emphasized the importance of the advanced learner's experiencing language in a variety of situations especially in everyday life outside the classroom. Clearly, community involvement caters for this and develops the "everyday register" (at least as needed for interaction in the ethnic community). It also provides experience of those variations that occur in everyday life according to situation, topics, and relationship to other participants. It sensitizes the learner to those factors that determine register modulations and teaches him the relevant language. Where greater specialization is required, courses structured on a notional or situational basis provide a narrower focus and more rapid progress [see Wilkins 1972].

In addition, by the advanced level, the learner's own needs and interests will require that he develop his proficiency in certain registers rather than others. An advanced course which permits the linguistic content to match the "goals and life-choices" of the adult student will more accurately reflect his need and will be more motivating [cf. pp. 566-573; Saville-Troike 1974:1].

In the approach to methodology proposed in this thesis, three factors determine register choice: (a) the need for language for everyday communication in the C_1 (i.e., in the informal community involvement activities); (b) the need for certain specific registers depending on the student's own choice of topics to pursue in the formal community involvement activities and on his vocational or other interests; and (c) teaching in the L_2 other subjects as a part of the course. In the case of (b), an individualized approach is desirable so that each student's needs may be met [cf. pp. 566-573]. This overcomes the argument frequently put forward that the diversity of needs cannot be handled and so it is better to ignore specialist registers and aim at developing general proficiency. At the advanced level, when students have some proficiency to fall back onto, it seems feasible to give them some responsibility through individual work to develop specialist registers that meet their needs. This can occur through the individual's choice of reading matter, by his pursuing an appropriate "research" project using, for example, the "Orléans" and other authentic materials, or by his following a relevant theme in interviews for the formal community involvement activities. Some formal exercises (e.g., paraphrase [Bate 1974a]) can also be used to practise the characteristics of a particular register. In all these activities, however, it must be realized that more than lexical variations are involved and due attention should be given to register variations in syntax, functions and discourse.

As elsewhere in language learning, formal learning of specific characteristics of a desired register should be in response to needs felt while using the register in reading, conversation, and other activities. This is particularly desirable with registers because (except for some esoteric registers), specialist registers differ from the non-specialist register in frequency of occurrence of some items rather than in terms of their absolute existence [cf. Wilkins 1972:1; Van Passel 1974:46-47]. Once some general proficiency has been attained (as it has by the advanced stage), the mastery of additional registers may proceed rapidly with relatively little additional learning needed, at least for comprehension purposes, provided that the conceptual content does not pose major difficulties. It is, however, probably more difficult to develop the learner's sensitivity to the factors that constrain the choice of language in any register and contextually modify its meaning [cf. Jakobovits 1970; Brière 1971:390]. For that sensitivity to develop, the learner must experience the register in context since the contextual features determine the choices made from the language repertoire and the contextual meaning attached to them [cf. Halliday 1975:126; James and Rouve 1973:4]. Thus, the register, like the language as a whole, must be learned through its realistic use.

THE FOUR MACROSKILLS

The components of the language discussed above and the general principles by which they are learned do not exist in isolation but are realized in activities which develop one or other of the "macroskills" of listening, speaking, reading and writing. In addition, it is clear that the sorts of activities proposed in this thesis provide many opportunities for an integrated approach to macroskill development. Community involvement, for example, provides opportunities to practise listening and speaking in interviews and in reporting to the class; writing, in arranging interviews, thanking the interviewees, and preparing reports; and reading, in preparing for the interviews and in related "research" projects. Thus, all four macroskills can be developed and practised in real and purposeful situations.

Nevertheless, it is clear that this method gives considerably more emphasis to aural-oral skills than advanced language courses have traditionally done. This is justified by the greater ease with which the learning strategies identified in Chapter Four can be mobilized orally, by the greater ease with which wide and diverse language experience can be given, by the value of involving all aspects of the communication situation in the language experience, and by the value of listening as a learning strategy. In addition, advanced learners attach high priority to aural-oral skills which are, furthermore, needed for interaction in the community, the essential means this thesis proposes towards language and attitude development [see Chapter Two, pp. 187-188; Chapter Three, pp. 259-263, 266-270; Chapter Four, esp. pp. 318-355, 366-377; Chapter Five, esp. pp. 464-486]. In any case, though each macroskill has features specific to it and, hence, sensitive to specific teaching [cf. Carroll 1967a:46] (e.g., spelling and special stylistic features in writing, pronunciation in speaking, visual configuration - meaning relationship in reading), there is evidence that development of one macroskill promotes development of them all. Carroll's study of language majors in U.S. Colleges [1967:135-136; 1967a:49, 199] found a high correlation between all four macroskills and he observes that success in each depends on "sheer mastery of the language" [cf. Torrey 1971:242; Loban 1966:80; Beanblossom 1970:7; Burstall 1974:125 and 204]. Elsewhere, he [1963] quotes much evidence to show the beneficial effects of oral skills (especially listening) on the other macroskills [cf. also Chapter Four, pp. 351-355] and he refers [1963:1068] to studies by Fishman that showed that students did equally well on written examinations whether their courses had emphasized oral or written skills. He observes [1963: 1069] that reading has to be taught but, once taught, grammar and lexis acquired orally will aid reading (and, doubtless, writing). Similarly, Loban [1966: 92] notes that oral competence provides a basis for and develops reading and writing [cf. Strickland 1962: 86; 1971:391]. Halsall's [1968] study of national proficiency levels found that those countries that favoured oral methods did better on virtually all skills than those using other methods. In all, there is evidence that advanced language development and proficiency in all four macroskills can be promoted by aural-oral means in addition to skill-specific teaching.

Nevertheless, it is appropriate that all four macroskills be developed at the advanced level. In addition, using all four, the student utilizes several learning channels and can focus on those which best suit him. The approach recommended here uses activities which involve and develop all four macroskills.

LISTENING. Listening warrants particular attention for reasons already seen [above and Chapter Four, pp. 351-355]. It can be exercised through normal classes conducted as much as possible in the L_2, through classes in Social Studies or some other subject, through the use of Radio Australia and Ethnic Radio broadcasts, through "research" projects based on the "Orléans" materials, and by the use of films, records and other traditional materials. A variety of activities is necessary for reasons discussed earlier [pp. 560-562; Chapter Four, pp. 348-350] and to let the student experience a variety of voices. Listening ought, however, to be distinguished from hearing (though this, too, has a place [e.g., Chapter Four, p. 351]) and activities should be so structured as to encourage the active involvement and focussed attention of the student. The community involvement programme [pp. 577-588] provides activities which motivate the learner to actively listen and participate in order to be socially successful. They can usefully be supplemented by visiting native speaking lecturers or by *assistants*. Formal "guided listening" activities (e.g., search questions, completing a cloze-type passage while listening, tape transcription, or paraphrase) might be used in moderation. More effective will be activities that respond to functional needs in the student's life (e.g., notetaking). The use of L_2 broadcasts emanating from the

C_1 is advantageous because they subsume a model of the world which partly parallels the student's own (e.g., news bulletins on Radio Australia or Ethnic Radio discuss events the student already knows something about). Such materials foster better comprehension strategies operating above the word-level and bringing the learner's knowledge to bear. Films provide valuable experience, promote listening by contextualizing the language, supplement literature in developing artistic appreciation, and, if used for sociological studies, can be the "other subject" through which the L_2 is taught [cf. pp. 547 - 551].

While listening is a valuable activity, it is not in itself sufficient since the active trying out of the language that speaking entails is essential in language learning [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 318 - 347] and is generally desired by the students [cf. Burstall 1974:63].

SPEAKING. Speaking is developed through many of the activities discussed already since it constitutes the active initiating use of language that is central to the methods discussed here. "Conversation" of the trivial, unmotivated sort that characterizes many language classrooms is undesirable and should be replaced by conversation that develops naturally out of important issues and worthwhile activities. These include discussion of other subjects [cf. pp. 547 -551], debates on topics of interest especially from the conscientization programme [pp. 646 -648], participation in community involvement activities, general social conversation, language games, and the substitution of film sound tracks [cf. pp. 605-606; Van Passel 1974:142]. More formal activities can include role play and simulation exercises (e.g., to practise certain functions [cf. pp. 614 -619]), reporting on community involvement activities (occasionally onto tape for self-assessment), monologue (e.g., where the student talks himself through an activity), and group discussion of answers to reading comprehension questions [cf. Munby and Brumfit 1975]. Telephone practice, which combines listening and speaking, is desirable [cf. Trim 1975; Emmans 1975] and integrates with functional training (e.g., making an appointment or a hotel reservation). Drama, improvisation, and film-making with more controlled dialogue provide other formal activities which, for some students, may be motivating though drama and film-acting that rely on memorization of parts have not proved very effective in promoting language development [cf. Carroll 1963:1067]. They need to be structured to ensure the learners' active involvement. In a Teachers' College, for instance, teaching films to illustrate dialogues and functions in school textbooks can be made giving the students an opportunity to practise the language while using it for some other end (viz., preparation of teaching materials).

READING. The need at this level is to develop fluent reading [see Chapter Two, pp. 121 - 123], i.e., to encourage rapid reading above the word level, to encourage correct chunking, to foster the ability to mobilize stored knowledge and utilize the redundancy of the language, and to ensure that the learner practises reading without translation. For these reasons, texts should be selected that do not pose major vocabulary problems but encourage rapid reading for general rather than detailed comprehension or literary appreciation. If more intensive reading is also desired, it can be practised as a desirable study skill using texts that match the student's interests or supplement other course requirements. Such reading matter could include an education text in a Teachers' College, journalistic and other materials produced by the local ethnic community (e.g., newspapers and magazines that give relevant and contemporary cultural information), texts on cross-cultural issues, and resource material read for information for "research" projects.

Here, as elsewhere in designing language learning programmes, the emphasis falls on using the language in order to achieve goals beyond the language or macroskill itself. It also falls on quantity rather than intensity of reading so as to foster more fluent reading strategies and to gain, through reading, the advantages offered by wide, diverse experience [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 348-350; Chapter Six, pp. 560-562]. The justification for these proposals lies in the view of language learning discussed throughout this thesis but also lies in the nature of the L_2 reading process itself [see Ingram and Elias 1974; Elias and Ingram 1977].

The place of literature in a language course was discussed earlier [see esp. Chapter Two, pp. 51 -54 , 138 -143; Chapter Three, pp. 255 -256]. If it has fallen into disrepute recently, it is because of its over-emphasis in the past, the narrow élitest view of language learning it incurred, and the restricted view of the nature of culture that literary-based courses seemed to assume. In addition, it tended to be introduced prematurely, imposing excessive difficulties on the learner, forcing him to spend much time, not in experiencing the language, but in mechanically turning the pages of a dictionary. Literary appreciation requires not less than a proficiency level of S-3, R-3 but preferably S-4, R-4 [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968; cf. Stern 1974], levels considerably in excess of students entering the "advanced stage" after matriculation. Although Carroll [1967a:159, 205] found that the better students in his survey had generally done some literary study, it is uncertain that this was a cause rather than an effect of high proficiency and, in any case, if it was a cause, it seems to have been because literary study is one possible use that the language may be put to and other uses seem likely to be more productive at the early advanced stage. Nevertheless, for some students, those of literary inclination or those intending to teach, literature is relevant once adequate proficiency has been developed. For all students, however, the prior need in the advanced stage is to develop fluent reading skills and rapidly increase general proficiency.

WRITING. Writing has traditionally occupied the major part of advanced language courses to the possible detriment of the aural-oral skills and its own retardation [cf. Carroll 1967a:46]. In such courses, writing has generally been practised as a translation exercise with the inherent deficiencies discussed at length earlier [Chapter Two, pp. 57 -59 , 127 -133, 147 -151]. In the approach recommended here, writing, like the other macroskills, is mainly practised in purposeful activities where it is used as a means to achieving some relevant and desired end. This is particularly so in the community involvement activities where it is used to arrange contacts, thank interviewees, report on activities and findings, prepare teaching materials (where the student is in a Teachers College), write a film script, or prepare other material in the community involvement programme.

Such an approach to developing the writing skill leads to written functions quite different from traditional advanced classes. Essays and proses are replaced by reports, note taking, reconstitution of notes into reports, letters of many different types (e.g., invitations, thanks, making and confirming appointments, and business and official letters), and projects in the *section bilingue* or culture learning components [cf. pp. 557-551, 644-646]. Other activities can include compilation of a newspaper or school magazine (in a Teachers College) or the transcription of tapes where authentic data (such as the "Orléans" resources) is used for a "research" project.

More formal exercises can include précis or summary (e.g., of the books read during a course), paraphrase [cf. Bate 1974a], writing in stylistic imitation of a text, and practice in special registers, e.g., advertisements, electoral handbills, contrasting newspaper styles, public notices, as well as more personally expressive forms [cf. Ager 1970]. The formal activities should be seen as supporting the others rather than vice versa (the traditional situation) and should aim particularly at developing the student's sensitivity to the distinctive requirements of various written registers. In addition, at the advanced level, the distinctive needs of written language in terms of mechanical accuracy must be realized and the necessary attention to detail developed [cf.

pp. 603-606]. Structuring beyond the sentence level also requires teaching [see pp. 619 - 622]. Précis and paraphrase [e.g., Bate 1974a; Evans c.1974] enable the teacher to focus the learner's attention to some extent on the structures and vocabulary that he wants practised (an advantage proses provide) but at the same time avoid the learner's experiencing only his own interlanguage (a disadvantage of proses). Both are formal exercises that involve less initiating language use but they have the advantage that both the original and the student's texts are in the L_2, they encourage thinking in the L_2, and they encourage the perception and use of the L_2 thought sequence and discourse features.

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

We have seen that, for fluent language use, the L_2 must be integrated with a matching model of the world [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 426-431; Chapter Six, pp. 605-606]. A number of clear methods by which it might be achieved have emerged. As far as possible, the student should be encouraged to operate in the L_2 and to avoid a translation approach which equates L_1 concepts with L_2 items. This poses a particularly difficult problem at advanced levels if the learner has developed the mental habit of translation as a result of his earlier experiences. In overcoming this habit, the subsequent proposals are relevant but, in addition, the student must be required to operate under pressure so that he has insufficient time to mentally translate and must "plunge in".

In Chapter Four, pp. 426-431, stress fell on the need for [illegible] learner to re-think his experience in terms of the L_2 and to extend his conceptual and language development into other areas unique to the L_2. Gouin's "Series Method" [1892] aimed at this but, though comprehensive, it was so structured and controlled as to become very artificial and to conflict with the natural language learning strategies. Rather, the learner needs the opportunity to re-experience his world in the L_2 by talking about it in the L_2 (especially with native speakers whose different perceptions and categorizations of that world will emerge) and through activities involving materials that discuss his environment in the L_2. Such materials include publications from the ethnic communities, books about life in the ethnic communities [e.g., McDonell 1971], L_2 programmes from the local Ethnic Radio or Radio Australia, and the various other *section bilingue*, interdisciplinary, and community involvement activities [cf. pp. 577-588, 547-551, 535-536].

However, it is clearly not sufficient to deal only with the C_1. In the Chinese methods [Ferguson 1975] which base English courses solely on life in Chinese communes, even though standards reached in pronunciation and fluency are high [ibid.:10], it is unlikely that any thorough understanding of the other culture is possible or that an appropriate model of the world could be developed. Activities aimed at specific concept development within a C_2 context are desirable. They can include discussions with native speakers during community involvement activities but about topics more closely related to the C_2, general culture teaching using methods and materials that present the C_2 and its culture vividly to the students [see pp. 644 -646], and the incidental concept teaching that characterizes meaningful, situational language teaching that is not translation-based. In addition, specific concept teaching can occur through the teaching of other subjects in the L_2 using the systematic presentation characteristic of education in the C_2. Subjects such as Social Studies that cover a broad spectrum of C_2 life are particularly valuable. In general, the need is for diverse experience using the L_2 as the medium for concept-presentation and discussion so that conceptual development and re-structuring go on and are integrated with the L_2. Community involvement, in which the learner is lifted out of his own "cultural semiotic" into a situation where, in interaction with native speakers, another cultural semiotic operates, forces him to reconsider his own enculturated thought patterns and conceptual structure and enables him to experience a socialization process comparable to that which the L_1 learner experiences.

Most teachers of advanced students would say that they want them to be able to think in the L_2. Diller says, for instance:

> *A living language is a language in which we can think.* [Diller 1971:21]

If thinking is the manipulation of concepts, this means either that the teacher wants the learner to be able to express his ideas readily through the L_2 or that the learner is able to manipulate L_2 words and utterances around which concepts adhere as a process in the development of new ideas. In either case, the fundamental need is for the integration of the L_2 with a matching conceptual structure and for the learner to operate under sufficient pressure to discourage him from adopting a translation process; i.e., the methods proposed above to match language and conceptual structure will also promote thinking in the L_2.

In considering methods by which to develop the language of advanced learners, we have examined the main components of language, sounds, words and syntax and how they are mobilized in use for communication. Whether or not deficiencies exist in the learner's knowledge of the components, the measure of his success as a language user is the extent to which he can communicate. Consequently, the teacher's ultimate interest is in the learner's communicative competence.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

The methods recommended in this thesis aim ultimately at developing communicative competence. Some approaches that have adopted this aim risk overlooking the fact that language involves words put together according to certain accepted rules, i.e., communicative competence pre-supposes some linguistic competence. However, by the advanced stage, significant linguistic competence has already been developed and, in the methods proposed here, communicative use of the language is supplemented by feedback to formal study of lexis and syntax. To further enhance communicative competence, the particular need at this stage is to free the learner of his inhibitions so that he can mobilize his resources in order to communicate. The emphasis on his using the language for communication with native speakers lets him realize that he can communicate despite the inevitable limitations on his linguistic competence, it develops his confidence, and it encourages him to "let go" and use the language [cf. Savignon 1972:27, 52, 67] thus, in turn, promoting further language learning [cf. Chapter Four, pp. 318-347; Chapter Five, pp. 485-486].

No further discussion of methodology to achieve communicative competence is needed here since it has been an implied objective in all that has been discussed. However, one point that needs emphasis is the distinction between practising the communicative act and testing language attainment. Advanced teaching has traditionally set proses and other exercises which ostensibly are to practise some language skill but which usually involve penalties in terms of the final assessment. The feedback that the error-making provides generally comes long after interest and need in the communicative act have faded (e.g., when proses are returned a week later). This process seems to do little but deleteriously raise the learners' anxiety levels [cf. Rivers 1975b:7; Gardner 1974:11]. Such exercises have also tended to teach the myth that there is only one right way of expressing an idea whereas in natural communication a speaker chooses amongst alternatives and may frequently compromise between the idea and the forms he can readily find.

The course components in the methodology being discussed fall into three areas: community involvement, which embraces the other two and provides the integrating principle [pp. 577-588], language development, which provides the means to communicate with speakers of the L_2 [pp. 588 -643], and attitude development.

ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

The development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes is a major goal in language teaching in a multicultural society. In Chapter Five, we saw it was achieved through culture learning to develop an understanding of the other culture, through the conscientization process, and through interaction with native speakers during community involvement activities. In addition, as Savignon found [1972:18, 31], the act of language learning for communication may itself effect attitude change and increase understanding especially by giving the student the experience of being a foreigner in another culture and of seeing the world through other eyes [see also Chapter Five, pp. 448 - 452]. Nevertheless, understanding another culture implies some knowledge about it and language learning alone or when used solely to discuss matters relevant to the C_1 is unlikely to provide such knowledge.

GENERAL CULTURE LEARNING

Traditional activities (viz., the use of lectures, films, slides, and reading matter) can be used to introduce the student to the culture of the C_2 and of the relevant ethnic community in the C_1. However, the course must be structured to ensure a broad and systematic understanding of the C_2 culture without excessive focus on interesting but atypical trivia or on one part of the culture (e.g., the fine arts) at the expense of a balanced cross-section. Contrastive studies that highlight differences between the C_1 and C_2 are not recommended [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 460-463]. Wherever possible, the personal experience of the teacher or of native speaker informants should be used to break down the impersonality and unreality that result from formal lectures. In a multicultural society, attention should also be given to the history, culture, traditions, activities and problems of the relevant ethnic group and to their past and present contributions to the C_1. However, it is not desirable to focus solely on the immigrant culture since it is fully understandable only in terms of its origins in the C_2 and, in addition, the C_2 culture often evolves more rapidly than the migrant culture.

There is a danger with much traditional culture teaching that the teaching will be too fragmentary, that it will concentrate on the atypical and "interesting", thus distorting the cross-cultural understanding that results [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 464 - 475]. This can be overcome to some extent by selecting a systematic path into the culture by teaching another subject in the L_2 or associating the L_2 with a major segment of the culture in interdisciplinary studies [see pp. 547-551, 535-536]. A number of subjects are suitable for the purpose (e g., History or Sociology) but the breadth of Social Studies has particular advantages in giving a more complete introduction to the factors affecting the way of life and thought of the people. It enables links to be made to the local region or community if the teacher relates the geographical principles raised to the C_1. Thus, it leads into community involvement through the extramural activities [cf. pp. 581 - 582] and, since it is closely related to the student's daily life, it provides an opportunity for the student to re-examine his own experience through the L_2 and to integrate it with his conceptual structure [cf. pp. 638-642].

Language learning itself, but more especially when it leads to interaction with native speakers, is of major importance in providing cultural understanding [cf. Chapter Five, esp. pp. 457 - 460]. This emphasizes again the centrality of interaction and particularly community involvement in language and culture learning. However, culture learning alone does not bring attitude change [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 446 - 448]. For this to happen, the learner must confront the issues as they affect him, i.e., conscientization is essential.

CONSCIENTIZATION

Conscientization is an important component in the approach to advanced language learning recommended here. The teacher's task is to structure experiences that will enable the student to become aware of his own attitudes, of the effect of dominating societies on persons of other cultures, and of the individual's ability to modify his own and others' attitudes and, ultimately, society's attitudes. Society is, after all, made up of the student and others like him and, if society is to change, each individual must first modify his own attitudes.

Conscientization was discussed at length in Chapter Five, pp. 501 -517, where methodological implications also emerged. It is sufficient here to point out that it can come through the discussion of statements that raise issues relevant to cross-cultural attitudes, through language games, and through reading. Reading material relevant to issues of prejudice and attitude can be chosen (e.g., Anatole France's *Crainquebille* or, for some classes, *Le Racisme* [De Fontette 1975]). Similarly, materials from the local ethnic community are valuable since they often discuss problems of life in the C_1, confront the student with the migrant's perspective of that life, and bring forward discriminatory acts and attitudes experienced by the migrant but not consciously realized by members of the majority culture. Language games such as the Oxfam or Freedom from Hunger games (played in the L_2 at the advanced level) can be used since they make the participants acutely conscious of the effects of economic systems, nations and individuals on other people, because they provoke much relevant discussion and language use as decisions are made, and because they permit certain functions to be practised in realistic situations. Barber's "dynamic" [1975] and other values clarification techniques are useful in that they raise relevant issues for discussion, confront the learner with his own (often deep-seated) attitudes, and provoke much language use.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Interaction with native speakers in community involvement is of vital importance in attitude development [see Chapter Five, pp. 464-486] but has already been discussed in methodological terms and needs no elaboration here [see pp. 577-588].

COURSE COMPONENTS IN SUMMARY

The course components can be shown in summary diagrammatically as in Figures 4 and 5, which emphasize their inter-relationships and the feedback from one to the others.

This approach focusses on the learner, responding to his needs and integrating the language into the structure of his cognition and personality. It capitalizes on his natural language learning strategies and gives him freedom to adopt his own learning styles. Learning occurs through purposeful use of the language

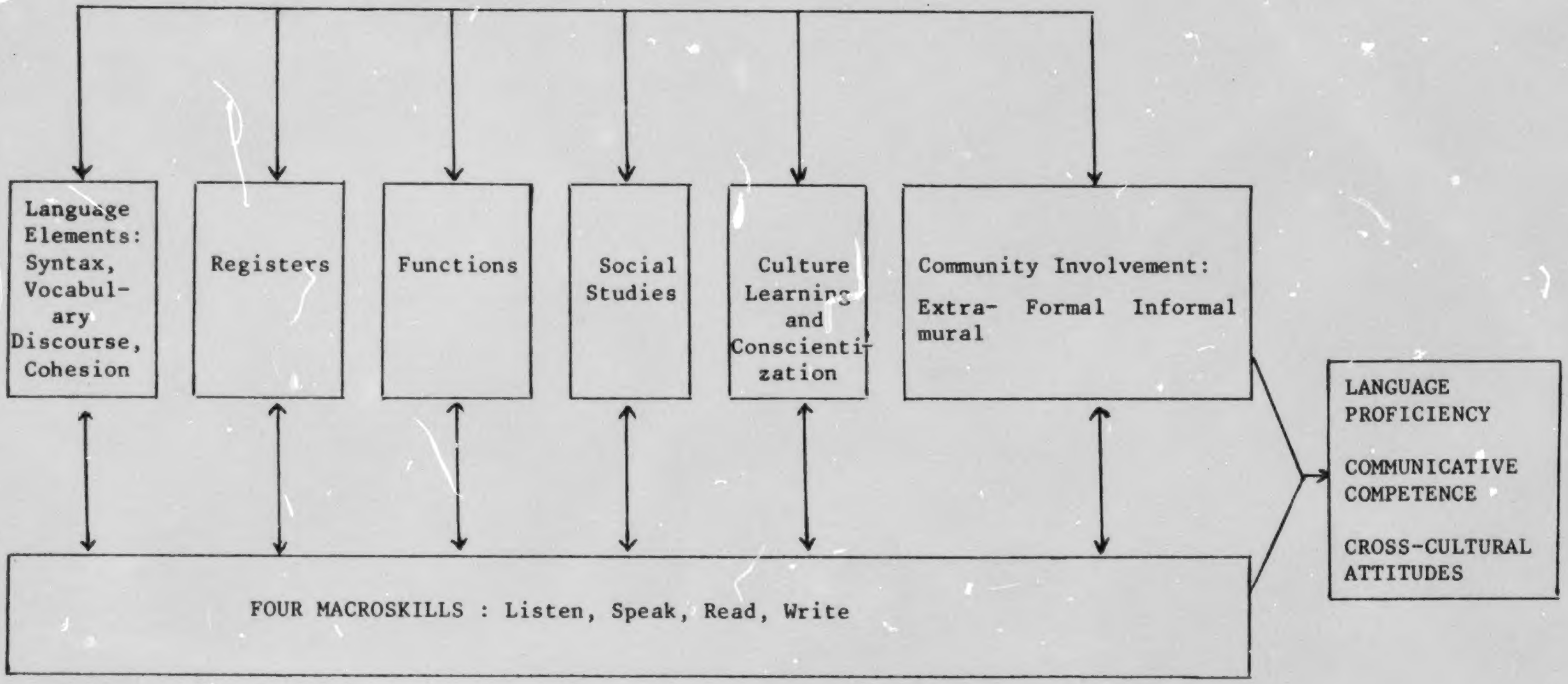
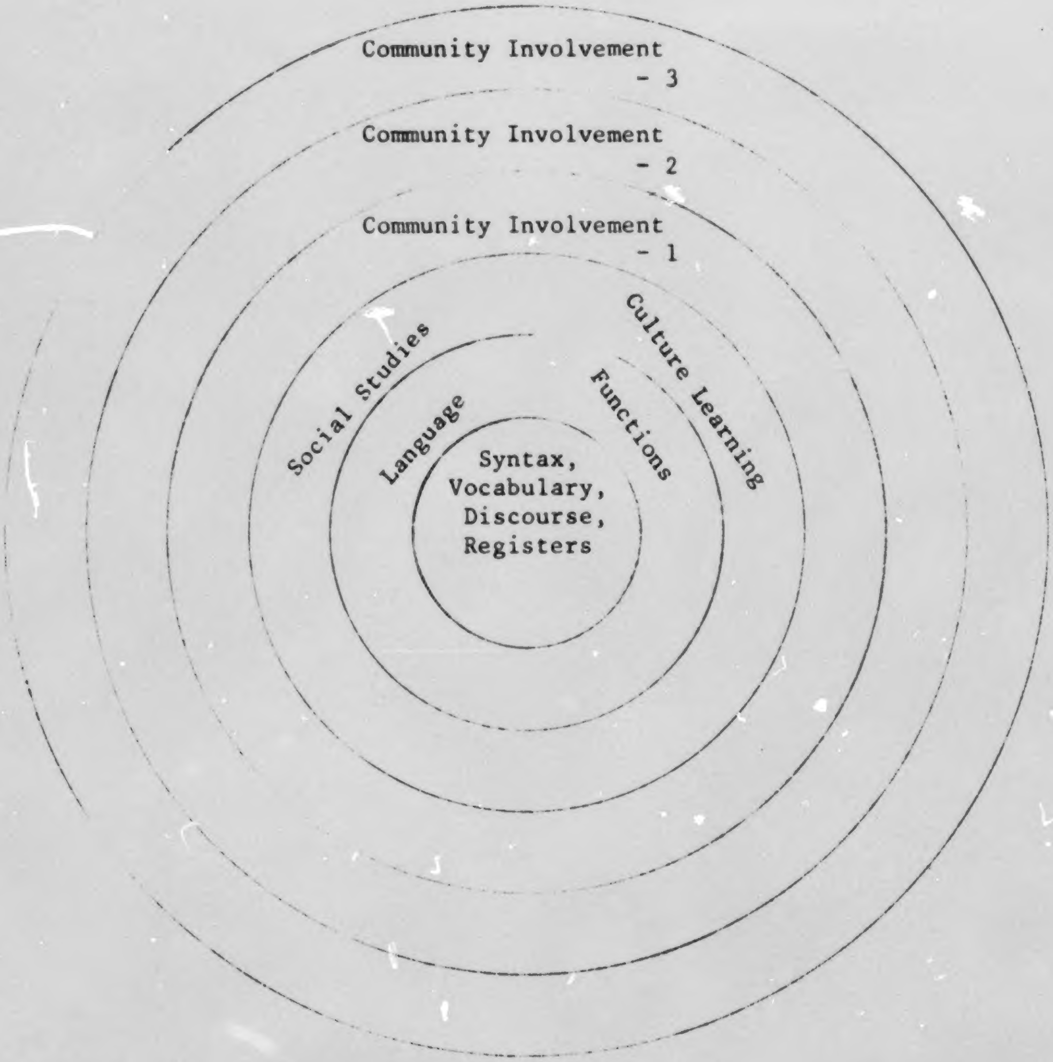

Language Elements: Syntax, Vocabulary Discourse, Cohesion
Registers
Functions
Social Studies
Culture Learning and Conscientization
Community Involvement:
Extra-mural
Formal
Informal
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE
CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDES
FOUR MACROSKILLS : Listen, Speak, Read, Write

Figure 4: Course Components in Summary


Community Involvement - 3
Community Involvement - 2
Community Involvement - 1
Social Studies
Culture Learning
Language
Functions
Syntax,
Vocabulary,
Discourse,
Registers

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT - 1.
Extramural: Look at own region and nation: field trips, Radio Australia, etc.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT - 2.
Formal: Interviews and Investigations.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT - 3.
Informal: Social interaction, guiding visitors, baby-sitting, etc.

Note: This figure shows the extension outwards from formal learning to community involvement and reflects the broadening focus of the course from language elements to increasingly spontaneous use of the language eventually in informal social interaction. In terms of learning strategies, however, the outer rings, which focus on use, are most central while the inner rings serve support roles and focus increasingly on elements of the language.

Figure 5: The Place of Community Involvement in a Language Course

to achieve ends beyond the language itself in situations relevant to the learners, in particular, in community involvement activities, Social Studies, reading for information and attitude development, listening to news and other broadcasts, and language games. Listening, as a learning activity of particular value, is catered for by the community involvement activities, investigative use of the "Orléans" materials, Radio Australia or Ethnic Radio broadcasts, and by traditional activities such as films. Formal language development activities respond to feedback from use and include both formal study and practice in rule identification, drills, cerebration, and structured exercises. Role play and simulation activities (sometimes incorporated in language games) are used especially to practise specific functions. Formal discussion (e.g., of functions, discourse, register characteristics, grammar and culture) occurs as needed but is always followed by meaningful practice (particularly in interactive activities) including the students' initiating of language. Favourable cross-cultural attitudes are developed through culture learning, conscientization activities, and interaction with native speakers. The integrating principle and, in effect, an ultimate goal is community involvement.

EXPECTED OUTCOMES

The expected outcomes of this approach to advanced language teaching are evident in the needs summarized in Appendix Four [see also Chapter Two, pp. 155 - 190, Chapter Four, pp. 155-190]. In general, the methods advocated capitalize on natural language learning strategies in order to make L_2 learning more efficient and to attain as rapidly as possible a proficiency level not less than S-3, R-3 [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. In the course of doing so, they aim at developing cross-cultural understanding and attitudes favourable to an harmonious, sensitive, healthily curious and rewarding life in the multicultural society. In social terms, this approach recognizes the importance of L_2 teaching in a multicultural society in fostering attitudes favourable to a just and harmonious society in which all persons benefit from the cultural, linguistic and economic resources.

It is justifiable to expect academic or intellectual discipline to be one of the by-products of study in a tertiary institution. The methods advocated here throw much onus onto the student and it might be felt that this will lead to a lack of self-discipline and academic diligence. However, several factors militate against this. First, the course is planned to respond to real personal and societal needs, thus enhancing motivation. Second, self-direction is encouraged with the learner identifying his own areas of need and selecting content and activities in response to them. Third, the student is encouraged to recognize and use his real communicative abilities. Fourth, students elect to undertake advanced courses and, hence, can be assumed to be motivated. Fifth, though the activities traditionally justified for their intellectual or academic discipline (e.g., proses, formal grammar, and literature) are missing, there is no intrinsic reason why other more useful activities should be any less favourable for such purposes [see Chapter Two, pp. 184 - 188]. Insofar as the discipline demanded by this approach is self-imposed to attain goals and objectives the individual has specified, its long-term effect is likely to be more enduring.

Finally, the attitude of the student to L_2 study is likely to be improved by the approach recommended here. It is clear that the real needs of the student and the society are more likely to be met and insofar as natural learning strategies are capitalized upon, the learning process is likely to be less onerous. The community involvement activities with their focus on using the language in communication will show the student that he can, in fact, communicate with increasing ease, thus providing a sense of realistic achievement and developing confidence. Individualization is a major aspect of this approach and has already been seen to improve student attitudes [see pp. 566 - 573]. Cross-cultural attitudes benefit and the increased integrative motivation is, in turn, likely to improve willingness to learn the language [cf. Chapter Five, pp. 452 - 454]. Burstall [1974:236] found that contact with native speakers improved student attitudes at least to learning the spoken language and the community involvement activities could be expected to have a similar effect. In addition, comparison of Chapter Six with the discussions on advanced learners' needs in Chapters Two and Three [pp. 155-190, 244 -271] suggests that the approach recommended in Chapter Six is more relevant in objectives and methods to learner needs (especially their desire for practical skills) than are most traditional, advanced courses and hence it could be expected that attitudes to the course would be improved. The attitude to the language that the course teaches is important in that learning and using a second language are seen to be desirable, socially important things to do while the fears and inhibitions that arise from fear of making errors are avoided.

Nevertheless, some initial adverse reaction to a course of this sort is likely, first, from students less prone to accept responsibility for self-direction [cf. pp. 566-573] and, second, from students whose expectations of a course have been conditioned by less progressive elementary courses. Such reactions are likely to be transient, however, especially if the teacher explains the advantages of the approach rather than capitulates in favour of uninformed views that produce ineffective methods.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The theory and methods of advanced language teaching proposed cannot be definitive since developmental psycholinguistics is still in a tentative state. Methodology will be improved as more complete understanding is gained of how an L_2 is learned and, in particular, elucidation of the advanced learner's strategies requires on-going activity. It would also be valuable to know more about the environment that child learners experience and its effect on their learning schedules. Information on L_2 learning schedules is still sparse and discontinuous: much more must be known before natural sequences can be used as a basis for syllabus or coursebook design.

Another major need in future research is in the area of language functions [see also pp. 616-618]. The functions most needed by learners of various types and, in particular, those needed for interaction in the community, must be identified; they must be related to the syntax and vocabulary required and to the language situations most frequently experienced. Then teaching materials must be prepared, particularly materials suitable for the individualized formal learning of the aspects of language discussed earlier [pp. 588-643].

In Australia, there is a lack of precise or comprehensive information on the present state of advanced language teaching. Replication in Australia of surveys such as James and Rouve 1973, Emmans et al. 1974, and Carroll 1967a would provide information on the state of the present system and its success in meeting the needs of students and the community. It would provide a baseline and indicate directions for the urgent re-structuring that would undoubtedly emerge as necessary [cf. Chapter Three].

Language teaching objectives are also in need of detailed re-examination. A modern taxonomy of advanced language teaching objectives could facilitate the structuring of courses, the planning of activities and the specification of attainment levels. Though Valette and others have provided taxonomies of varying detail [e.g., Valette and Disick 1972:Chapters 8-11; Research and Curriculum Branch 1974:24], they are derived from behaviourist views of learning and audiolingual views of teaching. A new approach must take into account the view of language learning outlined in Chapters Four and Five and the concept of proficiency in Chapter One.

The advance in the methods of advanced language teaching realized in this thesis lies in the use of community involvement to capitalize on natural language learning strategies, to effect attitude change, to integrate the course, and to relate advanced language learning to the needs of learners in multicultural societies. The methods proposed now need to be trialled objectively so that their effect on cross-cultural attitudes and language proficiency can be assessed and compared with more traditional methods. As they are used more extensively, their problems and possibilities will undoubtedly be clarified and their potential for promoting language learning will be more fully exploited.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, advanced language learning has been defined [Chapter One] as that which takes place after a proficiency level of approximately S-1+ to S-2, R-2 has been reached [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. Students in the formal school system enter this stage after five years or 480 to 500 hours of in-class tuition. Language proficiency was defined [Chapter One] in terms of practical language skills, particularly the contexts and functions in which the language is used for communication.

A survey of the performance of students at matriculation revealed [Chapter Two] the nature of the skills and deficiencies that they bring to advanced courses. They have experienced the major rules for L_2 sentence structure but lack confidence and fluency in their use. They have a rudimentary vocabulary which frequently fails them especially in "real life" situations outside the classroom. Most operate in the language via translation from the L_1, use units little greater than single words, and lack flexibility in mobilizing language to meet requirements of registers and functions. These deficiencies, together with the psychological and practical needs of the students and their society, identify the needs that relevant advanced courses must meet. In addition to developing language skills to the point where the L_2 becomes a viable tool for whatever purpose the student wishes to achieve, advanced courses must aim at developing cross-cultural attitudes favourable to life in a multicultural society.

However, the present pattern of advanced language teaching [Chapter Three] is unsatisfactory: proficiency levels attained are inadequate, methods are at best inefficient, and the objectives sought have little relevance to attitudinal needs or to the nature of language proficiency. No comprehensive studies have previously been available to provide the methodological insights needed to rectify the situation.

To develop advanced language teaching methodology rationally [cf. Preface], insights must be sought from the factors that determine its effectiveness, the nature of language, of the learner (including how he learns), and of society. A survey of developmental psycholinguistics [Chapter Four] elucidated the strategies of advanced L_2 learners, though some extrapolation from child L_1 and L_2 learning was necessary. Language is learned through use, i.e., the learner must be actively and purposefully involved in trying to communicate in real situations. Rich experience of the language is essential. The central process is rule acquisition, which occurs through formal and informal means. The learning schedule is probably universal, and the strategies common to all levels and both L_1 and L_2 learning. Nevertheless, some individuality in learning styles is evident.

The outcome of language learning is also determined by the social context [Chapter Five]. In a multicultural society, favourable cross-cultural attitudes are best developed through interaction with the native speaking ethnic community, culture learning, and conscientization.

The psycholinguistic and societal issues led to a methodology of advanced language teaching [Chapter Six] focussing on use, communication and contextualization, in which community involvement plays an integral and integrating role. Feedback from needs experienced in using the language leads to individualized formal language study. Activities in both formal and informal activities stress communicative competence and develop the macroskills, functions and registers appropriate to the situations in which individual learners wish to use the language.

Discussing language teaching at any level is a vast and complex task which, at times, takes on the appearance of a mosaic. Although this mosaic can be co-ordinated and its components integrated, it remains diverse since there continually intervene factors relevant to the learner, language, society and personal relationships. At the advanced level, it is even more complex because, here, there enter also such factors as past experience, different entering levels, the growing complexity of the learner's personality, and his expectations concerning the use he wants to make of the language. Learning strategies seem not to differ greatly at different levels or different ages except that advanced learners, being adolescents or adults in the education system, make increased use of formal, rational learning processes. Advanced learners do, however, have a greater store of language on which to draw and so can, more easily, be plunged into extensive, active and less controlled language experience.

The methodology recommended here has attempted to cater for these factors. As research into the fundamental sciences continues and as the proposed methods are trialled in practice, modifications will undoubtedly occur. The present work does, at least, however, attempt to turn the focus of advanced language teaching and learning from algebraically applied translation rules and word-by-word transliteration of literary texts towards functional use of the language in communication to achieve tasks of importance to the learner in his society. It rejects the non-communicative production of "correct sentences" in favour of communication.

The approach also takes the, perhaps, revolutionary step of saying that the learner knows how to learn, that, though a teacher's guidance may help, what he principally needs in order to learn at the advanced level is motivation and access to natural data. It structures procedures which will not only capitalize on these facts but, by using methods that emphasize self-direction, teach him how to go on learning. It also makes the tacit assumption that cultural and linguistic pluralism is desirable and then shows that the language teaching system has a vital role to play in promoting the harmonious and enriching cultural development of such a community by fostering interaction and developing favourable cross-cultural attitudes. In doing so, it tacitly but inevitably teaches that the cultural and linguistic minorities that have traditionally been rejected or subjugated in diverse ways are valuable and contributing members of society, equal in worth, status and rights to the members of the majority culture.

The methods proposed in this thesis recognize that language is learned and attitudes are changed through interaction. To learn the language, the student must use it. Although at elementary levels with restricted experience, formal class teaching may have a major contribution to make in providing the data from which the student learns, at the advanced stage, students have enough proficiency to start to use the language independently as a tool for communication in situations that promote language learning by utilizing natural strategies supported by formal learning. In other words, interaction, especially interaction with native speakers, is both psycholinguistically desirable and feasible. Similarly, the methods proposed recognize that favourable cross-cultural attitudes are more likely to exist where people and groups understand each other and interact as equals. If an education system wishes its students to develop the understanding, tolerant, accepting, healthily curious and sympathetic attitudes necessary for an harmonious and rewarding life in a multicultural society, it must ensure that they interact as equals with the members of other ethnic communities. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry [1942:54] could have been presenting this view of advanced language teaching designed to promote both language skills and favourable attitudes when he stated:

> *Connaître, ce n'est point démontrer, ni expliquer. C'est accéder à la vision. Mais, pour voir, il convient d' abord de participer. Cela est dur apprentissage...*

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX ONE

FSI SCALE OF ABSOLUTE LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY RATINGS

ELEMENTARY PROFICIENCY

S-1 *Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements.* Can ask and answer questions on topics very familiar to him; within the scope of his very limited language experience can understand simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition or paraphrase; speaking vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his language; while topics which are "very familiar" and elementary needs vary considerably from individual to individual, any person at the S-1 level should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases, and tell time.

R-1 *Able to read some personal and place names, street signs, office and shop designations, numbers, and isolated words and phrases.* Can recognize all the letters in the printed version of an alphabetic system and high-frequency elements of a syllabary or a character system.

LIMITED WORKING PROFICIENCY

S-2 *Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.* Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e. topics which require no specialized knowledge) and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though often quite faulty, is intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.

R-2 *Able to read simple prose, in a form equivalent to typescript or printing, on subjects within a familiar context.* With extensive use of a dictionary can get the general sense of routine business letters, international news items, or articles in technical fields within his competence.

MINIMUM PROFESSIONAL PROFICIENCY

S-3 *Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal convers-*

ations on practical, social, and professional topics. Can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease; comprehension is quite complete for a normal rate of speech; vocabulary is broad enough that he rarely has to grope for a word; accent may be obviously foreign; control of grammar good; errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker.

R-3 *Able to read standard newspaper items addressed to the general reader, routine correspondence, reports and technical material in his special field.* Can grasp the essentials of articles of the above types without using a dictionary; for accurate understanding moderately frequent use of a dictionary is required. Has occasional difficulty with unusually complex structures and low-frequency idioms.

FULL PROFESSIONAL PROFICIENCY

S-4 *Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs.* Can understand and participate in any conversation within the range of his experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary; would rarely be taken for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar situations; errors of pronunciation and grammar quite rare; can handle informal interpreting from and into the language.

R-4 *Able to read all styles and forms of the language pertinent to professional needs.* With occasional use of a dictionary can read moderately difficult prose readily in any area directed to the general reader, and all material in his special field including official and professional documents and correspondence; can read reasonably legible handwriting without difficulty.

NATIVE OR BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY

S-5 *Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker.* Has complete fluency in the language such that his speech on all levels is fully accepted by educated native speakers in all of its features, including breadth of vocabulary and idiom, colloquialisms, and pertinent cultural references.

R-5 *Reading proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native.* Can read extremely difficult and abstract prose, as well as highly colloquial writings and the classic literary forms of the language. With varying degrees of difficulty can read all normal kinds of handwritten documents.

[Reprinted from Foreign Service
Institute School of Language
Studies 1968]

APPENDIX TWO

TWO TRANSLATION PASSAGES

Passage 1:

Translate into ENGLISH:

Dès son arrivée, le nouveau professeur de français produisit, du moins sur tous ceux qui allaient devenir ses élèves, un gros effet.

Il s'appelait Bordes. *On devait apprendre par la suite* que son prénom était Félix.

Il avait l'air plus libre que ses collègues. Il ne marchait pas comme eux. Il traversa la cour d'un pas plus large. Il semblait qu'il y eût en lui une espèce de jeunesse dont ses collègues étaient dépourvus. Cette jeunesse ne tenait pas précisément à son visage, mais à *son allure*, à la façon aussi dont il était habillé. Et puis, et surtout, il ne s'encombrait ni de *serviette* ni de livres, ni de cahiers...

Tous ses cours furent différents, *insolites*. Sans avoir l'air de le *faire exprès*, M. Bordes surprenait toujours les élèves par une façon à lui de présenter les choses qui obligeait à rester en éveil. *Il enseignait au gré de sa fantaisie, car il n'eût rien supporté d'autre. Il fallait qu'il passionnât pour ne pas s'assommer. Nulle règle.* Il y avait parfois des cours 'scolaires', traditionnels, avec comptes rendus de devoirs, récitation de leçons et explication de textes, mais, avec lui, *cela changeait tellement* que c'en devenait presque amusant. Et puis il y introduisait, *quand même*, de la fantaisie. Il donnait des *notes, mais il oubliait de les marquer* si elles étaient mauvaises. Il semblait pourtant qu'il ne supportât point la stupidité, même celle accidentelle d'un très bon élève. Il avait une façon glaciale de dire: 'Rubardeaux, vous êtes fou de bêtise!' qui ravissait son auditoire. Et, ce faisant, il *bouleversait les valeurs*, l'ordre établi, car Rubardeaux était *le premier en tout*, définitivement.

Jean-Jacques Gautier
[II.A.68.5, 14-15]

Passage 2:

Translate into ENGLISH:

Le tragique *bilan* des accidents de la route est devenu une hantise constante pour ceux dont la tâche essentielle ne consiste pas tant à les *constater* qu'à *tout mettre en œuvre* pour que leur chiffre diminue. Les spécialistes ont, à ce sujet, une opinion fondée sur les faits: les routes nationales sont, en principe, généralement bien aménagées et l'usager s'y estimant en pleine sécurité est enclin à *se laisser griser* par la vitesse: en cas d'accident, le choc est plus brutal et le nombre de morts plus élevé.

Toutefois, ces accidents ne se produisent plus aux fameux points noirs de jadis. *Désormais*, ils ont lieu de façon pratiquement continue, soit sur un même itinéraire, soit à l'intérieur de zones bien précises, baptisées 'zones noires'. Certaines sections des routes nationales 5 et 7 détiennent un bien triste record. Les axes secondaires sont devenus *tout aussi dangereux*. L'attention de l'automobiliste s'y relâche, il néglige la signalisation et se trouve en face d'un danger qu'il ignore: c'est celui qui est créé par l'usager local, lequel *pèche* par excès de confiance.

Nous avons demandé à un spécialiste des questions de route ce qu'il *préconisait* dans ce cas. 'La seule thérapeutique valable appartient à l'automobiliste, nous a-t-il dit. Je pense que bien souvent il a perdu toute notion du mot responsabilité. Qu'il le veuille ou non, *en prenant le volant*, il s'expose à des risques dont il se refuse à prendre conscience et, ce qui est plus grave, il refuse de faire sa propre éducation en se disant: cela arrive aux autres, pas à moi.

N'est-ce pas là le vrai danger?

Jacques Dubessy
[II.A.68.5, 15]

Note: The italicized words were indicated as posing significant problems [II.A.68.5]. These passages are discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 113-114.

APPENDIX THREE

LIST OF EXAMINING AUTHORITIES FROM WHOM REPORTS BY CHIEF EXAMINERS ON THE PERFORMANCE OF MATRICULATION STUDENTS OF FRENCH WERE REQUESTED

1. Associated Examining Board
2. University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate
3. Institute of Linguists
4. Joint Matriculation Board
5. London University Entrance and School Examinations Council
6. Northern Ireland General Certificate in Education Examinations Board
7. Board of Senior School Studies, New South Wales
8. Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board
9. University of Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations
10. Board of Secondary School Studies, Queensland
11. South Australian Education Department
12. Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board
13. Southern Universities' Joint Board for School Examinations
14. Schools Board of Tasmania
15. Victorian Education Department
16. Welsh Joint Education Committee
17. University of Western Australia Public Examinations Board

The examinations these authorities conduct are called by the following names, abbreviated in the references in the text by the letters in brackets:

A-level (A), O-level (O), Special (S), Senior (Sn), Higher School Certificate (HSC), Matriculation (M), Certificate of Sixth Year Studies (CSYS), Leaving (L).

To preserve the confidentiality that some examining authorities requested, the Chief Examiners' reports are referenced in the text by a four-symbol code such as II.A.72.64 which shows in order: author's code for the examining authority, level (i.e., O, A, S, HSC, etc.), year, page in the report consulted. Occasionally the page number is omitted when the reference is to an examination or report as a whole and not to an example from the report.

Of the authorities listed, ten made their reports available.

APPENDIX FOUR

LEARNING NEEDS AND COROLLARY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR ADVANCED LANGUAGE LEARNERS(1)

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
GENERAL	
Native-like linguistic competence including an extensive knowledge of the lexis, syntax and phonology of the non-specialist register (defined in terms of the contexts and situations typical of the everyday life of an educated person in the C_2 and in the C_1) and of relevant special registers.	A language proficiency not less than S-4, R-4 on the FSI Scale approaching native-like proficiency in all 4 macroskills. Ability to use the language in diverse, real-life situations to meet practical communication ends and to satisfy the learner's own needs. Ability to use the FL for those specialist purposes (entailing registers and functions) relevant to the interests of the individual learner.
Recognition of the nature and function of language, espec-	Ability to use the FL for successful communication in which obsessive concern for correct,

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(1) Specific items from the language (grammatical rules, functions, etc.) are indicated only where they are themselves important and have been noted in Chapter Two to be particulary weak. "Knowledge", as used here, may be either conscious or effective, the former is optional but the latter essential.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
ially of the FL, as an instrument of communication.	discrete sentences or detailed comprehension is replaced by notions of speed, efficiency, and effectiveness of communication. [cf. Holland 1969:76].
Development of a sensitivity to language, to its variations, and especially to grammatical structure so as to promote the functioning of the natural language learning processes.	Ability to perceive, recognize, extrapolate meaning to, and retain for use new rules and lexis. Ability to introspect own language, to compare it with the language models experienced, and to intuit, formulate and internalize new rules or modifications to older rules. Ability to use such insights in guiding own language learning programme.
Recognition of the functional and semantic significance of all items by perceiving their contrasts within the FL system and by experiencing their functional value in real, meaningful, communication contexts.	

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
PHONOLOGY	
Knowledge of the phonology of the FL (including both segmental and suprasegmental features).	Ability to perceive, discriminate, recognize and produce all the segmental and suprasegmental features of the FL with ease in any of the positions and combinations in which they occur.
	Ability to comprehend all normal rates of utterance, types of voice, and the principal varieties.
Knowledge of the principles of syllabification, liaison, word and sentence stress, and intonation.	Ability to use correct syllabification, liaison, stress, and intonation in speech and to comprehend it in listening. Where appropriate (e.g., for student teachers), the ability to use them also in oral reading.
Knowledge of the characteristic paralinguistic features of the FL.	Ability to ascribe meaning spontaneously to the paralinguistic features of the FL when used by native speakers.
	Avoidance of intrusive paralinguistic features from the L_1 or of intrusive gesture arising

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
	from lack of confidence in FL ability. Where desired, ability to use the FL paralinguistic features in speaking.
SPELLING	
Knowledge of sound-spelling relationships and of spelling rules.	Ability to write the FL with a socially acceptable level of spelling accuracy.
Mastery of the FL orthography.	Ability to read new words aloud with accurate pronunciation.
GRAMMAR	
Acquisition of any grammatical rules not yet internalized, according to individual need.	Ability to apply all grammatical rules readily and automatically in both comprehension and production.
	Ability to produce oral and written language with sufficient accuracy in the macrostructures, microstructures, and "cosmetic features" of the language to satisfy the educated native speaker's requirements for the social acceptability of his language as spoken by an educated non-native.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
	Ability to apply grammatical rules spontaneously in order to relate lexical items and their signalled concepts so as to achieve formal accuracy, cohesion, and coherence in production and to be able to decode meaning accurately and adequately in comprehension.
	Ability to apply all agreement rules spontaneously.
	Ability to operate in units greater than a single word, i.e., the ability to perceive and mark relationships in utterances, to chunk appropriately in comprehension and, in reading, to make the correct eye movements.
Knowledge of the grammatical possibilities of the language to achieve variety of sentence and textual form and precision of expression.	Ability to choose within the grammatical repertoire of the language to achieve variety in sentence and textual form and precision of expression and to use the rules and other devices chosen without the need for conscious attention to them.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
Knowledge of the modification devices to give expression precision.	Ability to use the techniques of modification to give expression precision and especially to express explicitly personalized ideas, attitudes, feelings, and experience.
Knowledge of the FL pronoun system.	Ability to use the pronoun system spontaneously to avoid repetition, combine sentences, and provide cohesion.
Knowledge of the agreement rules and conjugations of all verbs, regular and irregular, in all tenses (especially the Immediate Past and the Conditional).	Ability to use in production and recognize in comprehension all verb forms, to make all necessary agreements, and to use the redundancies provided by the agreement system to facilitate comprehension.
Knowledge of the function and meaning of all verb forms.	Ability to ascribe a semantic referent to each verb form by relating it, not to an "English equivalent", but to that segment of the FL conceptual structure relevant to time, aspect, state or action and how they are viewed.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
	Ability to use all verbs spontaneously in oral and written production with the correct morphology as required by sentence cohesion (agreements) and meaning.
	Ability to ascribe the correct semantic interpretation in aural or written comprehension in response to the morphology of the verb; ability to respond to questions with the appropriate verb form.
	Ability to draw on the other (redundant) features of the utterance to facilitate decoding of the verb form.
VOCABULARY	
Wide knowledge of vocabulary, especially in the non-specialist register or "everyday vocabulary" as the common core of the language and in those specialist registers relevant to the individual's needs and	Ability to recall readily in both comprehension and production such words as indicated in the adjacent column. The rapid movement of existing and new items from the learner's passive (recognition) vocabulary to his active (productive) vocabulary.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
interests. (*Note:* No upper limit can be recommended if the learner is to have native-like mastery of the FL. The "everyday vocabulary" will be that needed for everyday life in the C_2 and in interaction with FL native speakers in the C_1). Knowledge of the features that discriminate amongst lexical items on the basis of register requirements, style, and selectional, categorial and contextual features. Knowledge of the principles of word-building in the FL and of the roots and affixes that occur.	Ability to extrapolate meaning of unknown items from the situational or linguistic context. Ability to perceive, recognize and use increasingly fine discriminations between lexical items on the basis of register requirements, style and selectional, categorial and contextual features. Ability to use the roots, affixes and principles of word-building to facilitate extrapolation of meaning to new words and to gain variety and precision of expression.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
DISCOURSE AND COHESION	
Knowledge of the characteristic manner of structuring discourse and sequencing ideas in the FL and of the linguistic features that mark this.	Ability to adopt spontaneously a FL native speaker's approach to thought sequencing and discourse structure and to use the linguistic features that mark them.
Knowledge of the processes of subordination, co-ordination, and superordination and the intra- and inter-sentential features used.	Facility in using intra- and inter-sentence connectives, in decoding, to readily comprehend arguments and postulate alternatives of meaning and, in production, to spell out arguments and produce sentences and texts of varied structure and precise expression.
	Active ability to use the language in units greater than a sentence.
Knowledge of the features of cohesion including pronouns, agreement rules, and other exophoric and endophoric devices.	Ability to use the features of cohesion in production, to facilitate comprehension, and to provide natural utterances.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
Pre-biassing to attend and respond to the cohesive features as outlined above.	Ability to spontaneously relate parts of sentences and texts by responding automatically to the cohesive features.
FLUENCY	
Knowledge of the changes that occur in oral production of the language when it is spoken rapidly.	Ability to produce and understand the FL with native-like fluency; in particular, the ability to speak the language without the intrusion of disruptive hesitations caused by linguistic inadequacies; and the ability to comprehend the language spoken at normal native-speaker rates of utterance. The ability to read and write at useful speeds. Large scale competence [cf. Holland 1969:79], i.e., active ability to use the language in units greater than a single sentence. Ability to carry out a number of tasks simultaneously without any of the others suffering (e.g., attend to content but not lose formal accuracy).

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT	
Acquisition of the conceptual pattern or model of the world typical of native speakers of the FL in both the general area and relevant specialist areas and its integration with the FL.	Ability to associate language and meaning directly, (i.e., without the intermediary of the L_1). Ability to think in the FL (i.e., to express one's thoughts spontaneously in the FL without the intrusion of the L_1, to carry out problem-solving tasks in the FL, to use complex reasoning processes involving manipulation of FL symbols, or to express the results of sub-linguistic thought in the FL without deviation through the L_1). Ability to bring the FL M.O.W. to bear on all language tasks (e.g., in producing acceptable utterances and in facilitating comprehension through the projection of meaning).
Familiarity with a broad spectrum of the L_2 culture and civilisation and closer familiarity with aspects of special interest to the learner.	

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
MEMORY	
Increase in capacity of the learner's short-term memory in the FL.	Ability to apply the syntactic rule system automatically in order to chunk words into syntactic and sense groups and to retain in memory sufficient of the utterance and text to allow this to be done.
Knowledge of the syntactic, morphological, and lexical markers of relationships between parts of sentences and texts and recognition of their cataphoric or anaphoric projection of relationships.	Ability to mark the syntactic and semantic relationships through the cohesive features, agreements and discourse.
	Ability to retain concepts and ideas in memory while the language is in use in comprehension or production so that arguments can be produced or comprehended and reasoning or problem-solving can take place.
	Ability to apply spontaneously the cataphoric and anaphoric relationships projected by syntactic, morphological, and lexical markers and to retain what is necessary in short-term memory to permit this to occur.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
REDUNDANCY	
Knowledge of the forms of redundancy in the FL and recognition of their value and significance.	Ability to bring the extra-linguistic factors in a situation to bear on the act of communication to facilitate comprehension or production.
Knowledge of the way that the context and extra-linguistic factors (including paralinguistic features and the environmental situation) support communication.	Ability to utilize the context to extrapolate meaning, facilitate comprehension, and support production (i.e., to facilitate communication). Ability to project possible meaning alternatives on the basis of preceding content, sentence structure, cohesive devices, rhetorical markers, and thought sequence, and to ascribe sentence meaning even where some words are unknown.
REGISTER	
Realization of the significance of register variation, knowledge of and sensitivity towards the features that	Ability to recognize the features that distinguish registers and spontaneous sensitivity to them. Ability to select within a wide language repertoire in order to modify own language production in

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
distinguish them, and realization of the environmental and other factors that result in them.	accordance with register requirements in everyday life and in those special contexts relevant to the learner's needs.
Knowledge of the features that distinguish spoken and written registers, formal and informal relationships, and any specialist registers relevant to the individual's needs.	
Development of a sense of style and of appropriateness of the language to the situation, context, medium, audience, and purpose.	
Sensitivity to any specialist registers relevant to the learner's interests (e.g., literature, advertising, journalism,	Ability to respond to language variations that characterize specialist registers relevant to the learner's interests and to make critical judgements on them.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
letters) and knowledge of any conventional features associated with them.	Ability to use in production the conventions of those written or oral forms relevant to his needs and interests (especially letters).
Knowledge of the lexis, phonology, and syntax of the non-specialist register that will enable the learner to take an intelligent interest in the life and affairs of the C_2 and its people and to introduce those of of the C_1 to native speakers from the C_2.	Ability to comprehend with ease spoken or written language about the everyday life and affairs of the C_2 and its people, especially non-specialist works, newspapers, and magazines, or non-specialist radio programmes; ability to participate in discussions on them; and ability to produce similar material on the C_1 for FL native speakers.
Knowledge of the lexis and syntax that permits variety in sentence structure, the subordination and coordination of ideas, and explicitness and precision in expression.	Ability to use the FL in the complex, explicit manner characteristic of the educated middle-class norm of expressive language.

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
FUNCTIONS	
Recognition of the functional role of language and of the prior importance of the communication task and the content over the language itself.	Ability to operate in the language without obsessive self-conscious focus on the language itself but focussing on its content and purposeful use.
Knowledge of the lexis and structures needed to carry out those language functions that occur in everyday life in the C_2, in interaction with native speakers in the C_1, or in answering the learner's special needs.	Ability in those functions relevant to the individual's needs in everyday life in the C_2 and in interaction with FL native speakers in the C_1. Ability to use the FL to carry out those language functions relevant to the learner's special needs.
Knowledge of the passive, impersonal expressions, the conditional, and subjunctive.	Ability in the functions of depersonalization, expression of diminished responsibility, and expression of the hypothetical and doubtful.
Knowledge of the rules for question formation and of the function of	Ability to form questions in the FL and to use them to gain information (i.e., in the

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
questions in human interaction, especially in seeking information.	heuristic function of language) and for the achievement of other relevant tasks.
Knowledge of the lexis and syntax used in abstractions and generalizations.	Ability to use the language to express abstract ideas and to generalize.
Knowledge of the lexis and syntax used in discussing human behaviour and emotions.	Ability to express explicitly personalized ideas, attitudes, feelings, and experiences and to discuss human behaviour and emotions.
	Ability to use the FL in the personal, interactional, and imaginative functions.
Knowledge of the devices and conventions used in conversation especially to start, continue, enter, and conclude conversations in situations relevant to the learner's needs.	Ability in the functions involved in conversation especially openers and closers, how to enter, exit from, or maintain a conversation, and in situations of "everyday" life, social contexts, and relevant special situations (e.g., seeking information at a railway station, at a party; in a seminar or interview).

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
	Ability to take the initiative in language use, calling on the language repertoire in initiating conversational exchanges and communication acts that have a functional role in the everyday life of an educated person in the C_2 and in interaction with native speakers in the C_1.
Knowledge of the conventional courtesy features of the FL including honorifics and the clichés of oral and written language.	Ability to use the conventional courtesy features of the FL naturally in speech and writing.
Knowledge of the conventions used in those written forms relevant to the learner's needs (especially letter forms, reports, summaries).	Ability to convey information, make requests, express opinions in letter forms of all types and in such other written forms as the learner may have need (e.g., reports, summaries, essays).
Knowledge of the requirements of any	Ability in any special function of which the learner has

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
special functions of which the learner has need.	need (e.g., FL-L_1 translation, interpreting, typing, shorthand).
READING	
Recognition of the preeminence of the group, sentence, and text over the word.	Ability to read rapidly using appropriate rapid reading skills including chunking and bringing context and M.O.W. to bear on the reading task.
Confidence to let go of the word and to scan units longer than one word in length.	Ability to read rapidly for information.
	Ability to read at increasing depth and to deduce implied and assumed meaning.
Realization of the active role of the fluent reader.	Ability to make critical judgements on the content and style of what is read, at least in those registers relevant to the learner's needs and interests.
Knowledge of the techniques used by writers to persuade, convince, or move their readers.	
Knowledge of the stylistic characteristics of those registers of reading	

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
material relevant to the learner's needs and interests.	
ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY	
Development of attitudes appropriate to life in a pluralist society and world: a tolerant and sympathetic understanding of the FL people; an open, favourable and accepting attitude to people of other races, cultures, and languages; and acceptance of the right of others to be different.	Acceptance of people of different races and cultures. Willingness to interact with speakers of the FL and other languages. Development of cross-cultural friendships.
Confidence in own ability to communicate in the FL.	Willingness to use the FL in order to communicate without being inhibited by fear of errors or insufficient knowledge. Ability to find alternative means of expression or to extrapolate

Cognitive or Affective Goals and Objectives	Performance Manifestations
	meaning in order to circumvent lacunae in knowledge of the FL.
Confidence in ability to introspect own language and to direct own remedial and other learning of the language.	Ability to observe the language of others, to introspect own language, and to direct own learning programme.
Development of the learner's personality in integration with the FL, through appropriate attitudinal change, and by using the FL in the course of successfully negotiating those personality crises that occur at the learner's stage of development (e.g., crises of identity and intimacy in adolescence).	Ability and willingness to use the FL empathically in social interaction with native speakers, others of different ethnic origin, and especially with his L_1 and FL peers. Ability to establish satisfying relationships while using the FL and to satisfy emotional and social needs.

The following teaching and learning needs are of special significance since they are made necessary by earlier teaching-learning strategies:

1. Recognition of the functional role of language and of the priority of the communication task and the content over the language itself. This will come through purposeful use of the language for the achievement of worthwhile and desired ends.

2. Fostering of personal self-expression in situations and on topics immediately relevant to the learner and his developmental (i.e., linguistic, social, psychological and educational) needs and in interaction with his peers and with native speakers.

3. Shift of attention to units greater than one word or one sentence and ability to use the devices of cohesion and discourse.

4. Expansion of short-term memory in the FL.

5. Development of the learner's ability to take the initiative in language use in order to counteract the largely passive role he has experienced in the FL classroom.

6. Active use of the FL in diverse real-life situations of interest and relevance to the individual in order to contextualize the language in a variety of total communication situations.

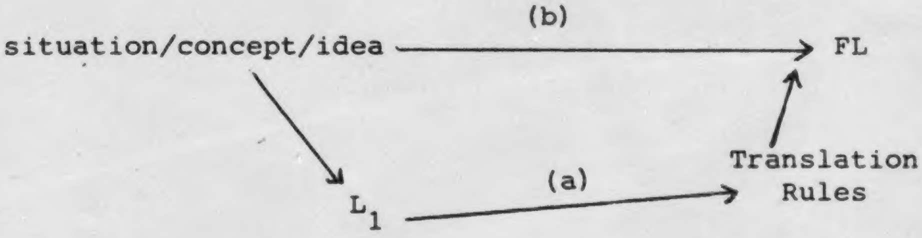
7. Purposeful use of the language for the achievement of worthwhile and desired ends so that the focus moves from the language to its content and use and to the achievement of tasks through the language.

8. Fostering of creativity in the use of the language and in the content expressed.

9. Replacement of the notion of the overriding importance of correct, discrete sentences or detailed comprehension with notions of speed, efficiency and effectiveness of communication.

10. Development of a congruent conceptual structure or model of the world and its integration with the FL.

11. Remediation of the adverse mental set that makes a translation approach to learning and use of the language inevitable: instead of Path (a), encourage the use of Path (b):



12. In summary: focus on use, focus on communication, focus on the learner.

APPENDIX FIVE

LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES

MACROSTRATEGIES

1. Universal innate mechanisms for the organization of language data, the L.A.D., must operate to enable the learner to acquire the language.

2. Language is learned, not taught.

3. The learner is an active participant, not a passive recipient.

4. Language is learned through use: focus on use.

5. Language is learned as a means, not an end in itself: focus out.

6. Focus on communication.

7. Focus on meaning.

8. Learn through social interaction and monologue.

9. Learning occurs when the learner is actively engaged in initiating and producing language. Oral experience favours efficient learning.

10. The learner forms and tests hypotheses about the language, actively constructing the grammatical system for himself.

11. Learn through wide, diverse experience.

12. Active listening is an important learning strategy.

13. Feedback plays an ambiguous role in language learning.

14. The environment must be receptive and accepting.

15. Performance can be enhanced and acquisition promoted through self-monitoring.

16. Both formal and informal learning situations and strategies can contribute to language learning.

17. Language exists and is learned in context.

18. Language learning is function learning. Language is a system of meanings and the meaning is what the language can be made to do or be used for.

MICROSTRATEGIES

1. The learner observes the features used to mark meaning (i.e., underlying semantic relations).

2. The learner attends to regularities in the data and intuits the underlying forms and relationships expressed in them.

3. The learner systematizes the data he observes utilizing strategies of simplification, generalization, transfer and avoidance.

4. The learner seeks, imposes, and learns rules, progressively modifying his rule system with experience and use of the language.

5. Rules may be consciously learned and serve as monitors but this is a superficial process and may be inhibitory.

6. Imitation and repetition are minor language learning strategies.

7. Cerebration, the pondering of new forms and sequences, occurs as the learner starts to comprehend their form and function and is a pre-requisite to rule-formation.

OUTCOMES

1. L_2 learners follow a common schedule which partly resembles the L_1 schedule and is partly unique to L_2 learning. Some individuality may also appear.

2. Errors reflect the current state of development of the learner's interlanguage and have an essential part to play in language learning and acquisition.

3. Individual learners especially at an advanced level may select differently within the available range of language learning processes and this will result in different learning styles.

4. A match between language and conceptual structure (i.e., model of the world) must be established for fluency to exist.

5. Learning commences and continues in response to the learner's felt needs.

APPENDIX SIX

ADVANCED LANGUAGE TEACHING: PRINCIPLES

Principles specifically relevant to various aspects and stages of language teaching may be elaborated from the two summary principles enunciated at the start of Chapter Six and from the context in which language teaching operates, discussed in Chapters One to Five. This is exemplified for advanced language teaching in the following table:

1. Teaching principles are determined by the nature of language, the learner, his language learning processes, and the society (local and world) within which he lives. Motivation is maximized and learning promoted when the teaching-learning programme meets the needs indicated by these four factors.

2. Language teaching in a multicultural society (whether a local or world society) aims at developing skills and attitudes suitable for an harmonious, fulfilling and rewarding life in that society.

3. Learners must acquire at least those syntactic rules, lexis and functions needed for use in interacting with native speakers in the multicultural society and to meet whatever additional needs or interests they might individually have.

4. Practical language proficiency and communicative competence must be rapidly developed with the immediate objective a proficiency level of at least S-3, R-3.

5. Language is learned, not taught; i.e., the teaching programme must aim at facilitating the learner's natural language learning processes.

6. Focus must fall on the learner, who is central in the teaching-learning process.

7. Grammatical learning must be individualized in order to meet each learner's needs and to match the course to his stage in the development schedule.

8. Language is best learned through use, i.e., in communication in achieving purposes of importance to the learner and where the focus of the learner's attention falls on the content or purpose rather than on the language.

9. The advanced learner requires extensive experience of the language both receptively and productively to promote his ability to recall and mobilize what he has previously experienced, to circumvent lacunae, and to operate beyond the word level.

10. Language functions must be taught and not just language items even though functions subsume knowledge of certain rules and lexis, many of which will have been acquired at more elementary levels.

11. The L_2 must be integrated with the appropriate model of the world (or conceptual structure).

12. The cultural basis of L_2 teaching must be broadened and diversified to develop the learner's familiarity with, and to integrate the language into, the culture of the L_2.

13. Language practice must be contextualized and the language integrated into a functional, pragmatic and, hence, social context.

14. The development of favourable cross-cultural attitudes is a central goal and, therefore, interaction with the other cultural group(s) is required in formal, but especially informal, situations.

15. The learner must be made conscious of the nature of society, of the role of language learning in it, of his attitudes, of society's attitudes, and of his ability to change them.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Advanced Language Learning: second language learning that takes place after a proficiency level of approximately S-1+ to S-2, R-2 has been reached on the FSI scales [see Appendix One]. Students of French in the formal school system enter this stage after five years or 480 to 500 hours of relatively unintensive in-class tuition. It is the stage characteristic of students continuing their language study on entry to a tertiary institution in Britain or Australia. British students, who have a greater number of hours of secondary school language study than Australians, may enter the advanced stage earlier than the end of Secondary School. Note, however, that "advanced", as used in this thesis must be distinguished from the "Advanced Level" or "A-Level" of British examinations.

Approximative System: see "Interlanguage".

C_1: the learner's own country; more especially, where his L_1 is spoken.

C_2: the country where the second or foreign language is spoken as the first language, e.g., if French is the L_2 or FL, France is the C_2.

C.A.E.: College of Advanced Education. C.A.E.'s are multipurpose tertiary institutions in Australia which stand in much the same relationship to universities as polytechnics in Britain except that most C.A.E.'s have a significant number of students following a course in teacher education. Many originated as Teachers Colleges.

C.N.A.A.: Council for National Academic Awards, the body that approves polytechnic courses and degrees in Britain.

Community: (1) the environment surrounding the educational institution (i.e., the geographical environment as well as the society with its various infrastructures);

(2) the ethnic community (q.v.). See also Chapter Six, pp. 577-578.

Community Language: a language spoken by residents of a country, at least some of whom learn it as a native language. Its speakers may form a significant and identifiable group within the society [see also "Ethnic Community"]. It may be an indigenous or a migrant language. In Australia, for example, Pitjantjatjarra, English, Italian, Greek, and Vietnamese are some of the many community languages. Navaho is not. French is in an ambiguous position. It is spoken as a native language in the community but by fewer people than, for example, Greek. It is widely taught but still generally for traditional, historical, and cultural reasons and as a major international language.

Context: a broader concept than "situation" (q.v.) and includes notions of cultural presuppositions and preceding and subsequent text.

Cosmetic Features: features of pronunciation, syntax, morphology and lexis whose neglect does not impair communication even though they are observed by careful speakers, especially those who have experienced a traditional, prescriptive grammar course, e.g., use of *than I* instead of *than me*, *different from* instead of *different to* (or vice versa), *if I were you* instead of *if I was you*.

Ethnic Broadcasting: the system of government- and public-financed radio stations that broadcast in the community languages in Australia.

Ethnic Community: a group of people with a common language and culture in a multicultural society; more specifically, in the context of this thesis, the native speakers of the L_2 in the multicultural society. In some cases (like the Greeks and Italians in Australia), they form recognizable groups identified with particular districts, and with their own organizations. In other cases (e.g., the French in Australia), they are less numerous, more scattered, and less organized.

Ethnic School: an afternoon or Saturday school run by an ethnic community in order to teach its language and culture, particularly to its own children.

FL or *Foreign Language:* a language taught as if it is not spoken in the learner's environment or used for everyday communication in his environment. It is taught for travel or cultural reasons, and, if the needs of everyday communication are envisaged, it is as if the language will be used for that purpose only in the C_2. See also the footnote, p. 289.

Foregrounding: an item is said to be foregrounded when it can be assumed to be in the learner's consciousness [cf. Chafe 1972:50].

F.S.I.: United States Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies.

F.S.I. Scales: the scales of absolute language proficiency ratings published by the FSI [Foreign Service Institute School of Language Studies 1968]. See Appendix One.

Function or *Language Function:* a task carried out through language, sometimes (though not necessarily) in a distinctive, socioculturally determined way. Functions include unitary functions as identified by Halliday [1969, 1975, 1977]; tasks such as interrogating, greeting, negating; more complex ones such as giving directions, letter-writing or note-taking; and highly complex ones such as typing, translation and interpreting. They are sometimes also called "language skills" or "language strategies". See also Chapter One, pp. 20 - 21 .

Goals: long-term and overall aims, e.g., native-like proficiency and favourable cross-cultural attitudes. See also "Objectives".

Interlanguage or Approximative System: the form of the language that is like neither the L_1 nor the L_2 but reflects the intermediate stage of development of the L_2 learner's language.

L_2 or *Second Language:* a language taught for use in the learner's environment and used for everyday communication by speakers in his environment. See also the footnote on p. 289 .

Language Acquisition Device (L.A.D.): the human being's innate predisposition to acquire language, i.e., the inherited but as yet unspecifiable mechanisms which, provided they are stimulated by exposure to language, enable the learner to construct and internalize the systematic grammar of the language. See also Chapter Four, pp. 313 -318.

Language Functions: see "Function".

Learning Strategy: a process by which acquisition or learning occurs. It includes "macrostrategies" (q.v.) or "microstrategies" (q.v.). See also Chapter Four, pp. 292-295.

Macrosituation: see "Situation".

Macroskill: the term used by James and Rouve [1973:2] to refer to the four global skills or "skill areas" of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The term is useful since it avoids ambiguity with "skills" as used to refer to "functions" or "uses of language".

Macrostrategy: learning circumstances, conditions, or action tendencies which result in language learning. See also Chapter Four, pp. 292-295.

Microsituation: see "Situation".

Microstrategy: a learning tactic or cognitive process such as generalization or transfer which results in language learning. See also Chapter Four, pp. 292-295.

Model of the World (M.O.W.): the individual's accumulated knowledge about the world, which influences how he perceives, classifies and categorizes experience; also called the "conceptual structure" or "cognitive structure". See also Chapter Four, pp. 426-431.

Multicultural Society: a society made up of people who identify with a number of different languages and cultures and in which a number of different languages are used for everyday purposes and are passed on by the home and by education. See also "Ethnic Community".

Non-specialist Register: the general register that permeates all other registers and is used for everyday communication. See also Chapter One, pp. 14-16.

Objectives: the short-term and intermediate aims such as the attainment of a speaking proficiency of S-2 or mastery of direct pronoun objects. Where the differentiation between "goals" (q.v.) and "objectives" is not important, "objectives" is used indiscriminately.

Operational Strategy: a way in which knowledge is applied in language use (in contrast to a way in which it is acquired). See also Chapter Four, pp. 292 -295.

Orléans Materials: the collection of recordings made by staff of the University of Essex and elsewhere during numerous interviews in Orléans, France, in 1969. The materials provide vast sociolinguistic research data but can also be used as authentic data for teaching purposes.

Radio Australia: the overseas, short-wave service of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. It broadcasts in many languages and can be received in Australia as well as around the world.

Second Language: see L_2.

Section Bilingue: the teaching of another subject (e.g., geography, social studies) in the L_2 as part of the language learning programme. See also Chapter Six, pp. 547-550.

Situation: the physical situation in which a language act takes place. It may be a microsituation where the language and situation can be made virtually completely redundant for the initial teaching of an item as in the Australian Situational Method (e.g., to teach "The cup is on the table", the teacher shows a table with a cup on it). A macrosituation refers to a larger, more complex situation in which the language is a part but full redundancy does not occur (e.g., in a Post Office).

Situational Teaching: methods in which meaning is conveyed by presenting syntax and lexis in situations that are more or less redundant with the language. See also "Situation".

Strategy: see "Learning Strategy", "Macrostrategy", "Microstrategy", "Operational Strategy".

Subject: with a capital letter,"Subject" refers to the person being studied in a research project, i.e., a human "guinea pig". Without a capital, "subject" refers to any other usage of the word, especially the grammatical usage.

Surrogate or Native Speaker Surrogate: a fluent and enculturated non-native speaker who can substitute for a native speaker when a language is being learned in circumstances where few native speakers are available to the learners. *Surrogate* is also used to refer to an environment that substitutes for a C_2 environment.

Tertiary Education: that level of the formal education system after Primary and Secondary School. It includes universities, polytechnics (in Britain), and colleges of advanced education or C.A.E.'s (in Australia).

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